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SOLON J. BUCK

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SOCIETY

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VOLUME V

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EDITED BY

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN HAMLINE UNIVERSITY

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THE FUR TRADE IN MINNESOTA DURING THE BRITISH REGIME [1]

There was nothing, broadly speaking, peculiar to or characteristic of the fur trade of the region now included in the boundaries of the state of Minnesota which was not also characteristic of the region of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi River. The title of the present paper, therefore, while perhaps appropriate on the occasion of a meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, may suggest an idea or a conception which it is best to avoid from the outset: namely, the notion that a modern state, Minnesota or any other, is a logical or natural geographical unit on which to base a study of the early fur trade. The region must be pictured as it was during the British régime without reference either to modern political boundaries or to present-day lines of communication. In short, the territory lying west of the Great Lakes was a part of a geographic and economic entity, and in dealing with it one must consider not the state of Minnesota alone, but rather a more extensive region of which the area now included in the state was an important part.

It should be explained that the British régime is regarded as the period from 1763 to 1815, during which the influence of British traders was paramount in the Northwest. The British régime had been preceded by the French period, which lasted from the earliest explorations until the conquest of Canada in 1763. It was followed by the American period which began after the close of the War of 1812 and ended gradually with the movement of the fur-trader's frontier westward.

The most interesting and significant aspects of the Northwest fur trade during the British régime can be understood

[1] Read at the state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society at Duluth, July 28, 1922.

only by a careful examination of the map. The region of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi might be entered from two directions: first, from the east by way of the St. Lawrence River system; second, from the south by way of the Mississippi. Of these two routes, the northern proved more convenient and was certainly much more important in the history of the fur trade. The location and distribution of fur-bearing animals made Canada and the city of Montreal more important in the early development of the fur trade than southern Louisiana and New Orleans. It was said in the days when Rome flourished that all roads led to the Imperial City. It may be said with equal truth that in the days of the early fur trade, all trails in the empire of the Northwest led to Montreal. The post of Michilimackinac was a sort of halfway station on the route from Montreal to the upper Mississippi, and might be reached either by following the Great Lakes or the Ottawa River and Lake Nipissing. The region of the upper Mississippi might be reached from Michilimackinac by one of two routes: first, by way of Lake Superior and the St. Croix River; second, by way of Lake Michigan and the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. It was possible to penetrate the wilderness west of the Mississippi by the Minnesota River, or the St. Peter's, as it then was called. Traders resorting to the Canadian Northwest took the Grand Portage route. The communications from Montreal to the Northwest were controlled at two or three strategic points, chief of which were Detroit, Michilimackinac, and Grand Portage. Perhaps Prairie du Chien might also be included.

During the French period, the upper Mississippi was on the outer confines of the territory regularly visited by white men. The fur trade of this region was a part of the great prize contended for by the English and French during the intercolonial wars, though none of the fighting actually took place there. It was not in the wilderness, but rather in the heart of Canada that the French cause was lost and with it the peltry trade. The capture of Quebec in 1759 and the sur-

render of Montreal in 1760 delivered the economic as well as the political control of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi into the hands of the British. True, the territory west of the Mississippi was ceded to Spain in 1763, but, owing to its geographical location, its trade was easily controlled by the British in spite of all efforts of the Spaniards to prevent this.

When the British had secured military and political control of the Northwest, their first act was to abolish the French system of monopolies and to open the trade to all comers. This meant the overthrow of the entire business organization which had been built up by French merchants in the days of the old régime. Henceforth the goods used in the Indian trade were to be imported from England and the furs for which they were exchanged were to find their way to London rather than to Paris. The commerce of the French merchants was automatically ruined and its control passed to their British competitors, who were swarming into the upper country even before the signing of the treaty of Paris. There were left in the Indian country, including the upper Mississippi, however, a great many *engagés* and small French traders who must either accommodate themselves to the new order of things or seek new fields of endeavor. The easy-going disposition of the French Canadian led him to choose the former alternative and the result was that when the British merchant entered the Northwest he found ready and waiting a large number of persons skilled in certain processes of the fur trade who entered his employ and constituted an invaluable asset to his business organization. The system of trading posts which had been erected in the interior by the French was also at the disposal of the British when they arrived.

The zeal of the British merchants who flocked into the Northwest was temporarily checked in 1763 by the Indian rising known as the conspiracy of Pontiac. Traders at Michilimackinac and smaller posts scattered throughout the interior were plundered and murdered. The outbreak was suppressed

in the following year, however, and there was a second rush of traders into the region formerly occupied by the French. These men were of English, Scotch, Irish, and Yankee descent. Most of them were actuated by motives of gain and by love of adventure, but some had been obliged to leave their homes for other and more urgent reasons. From the conquest of Canada until the time of the American Revolution the private trader held sway. Some of these men were of extremely shady character and Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, commandant of Detroit, tells us that the very name of "trader" had become a synonym for "artfull cheat." Of all the traders who visited the region west of the Great Lakes during this period, none is more interesting than Peter Pond, a Connecticut Yankee who visited the region of the upper Minnesota in the winter of 1773 and 1774. He journeyed from Albany to the upper country by way of Montreal and Michilimackinac. From the latter post he proceeded to the Mississippi by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. After a brief stop at Prairie du Chien he ascended the Mississippi as far as the Minnesota. Pushing up the Minnesota he wintered among the Indians and, as he says, "We Did our bisnes to advantage." Pond has left an account of his travels which is one of the most fascinating narratives dealing with the early fur trade. He spelled phonetically, but he was a most keen judge of human nature and he was not without a subtle sense of humor. [2]

The outbreak of the Revolution had little direct effect upon the fur trade of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi. It has already been shown that control of this region depended upon the possession of a few strategic posts. The British succeeded in holding these posts during the war and with them the control of the Indians and the fur trade. British supremacy in the Northwest tottered momentarily when an expedition under General Montgomery captured Montreal in 1775.

[2] The "Journal of Peter Pond" is published as one of a series of sources on the "British Regime in Wisconsin" in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18: 314–354 (Madison, 1908). It was first printed in the *Connecticut Magazine*, 10: 239–259 (April, May, June, 1906).

But the Americans were obliged to withdraw and the Canadian fur-traders breathed freely once more. The invasion of the Illinois country by George Rogers Clark next threatened the security of the British traders. Certain of them were driven in from the outposts, but British garrisons still retained the principal strongholds of Michilimackinac and Detroit. The capture of either of these posts would almost certainly have obliged the British traders to withdraw from the upper Mississippi, but such a project was too much for the military resources of the Americans. There was one respect, however, in which the British traders were somewhat seriously hampered. The military authorities feared lest supplies and ammunition intended for the fur trade might fall into the hands of Clark's men and their Indian allies and be used against the British garrisons. The situation was complicated by the fact that the loyalty of some of the petty traders, particularly the French Canadians, was not above question. The result was that the transport of supplies into the Northwest was put under stringent regulation and in some instances prohibited altogether. Certain traders at Detroit and Michilimackinac were refused permission to go into the interior at all. But this temporary inconvenience was more than offset by the fact that rival Yankee traders were completely excluded from the Northwest and the Canadian merchants had full sway. During the Revolution they laid the foundations of a monopoly in the Great Lakes region which they retained until the close of the War of 1812.

The English and Scotch merchants who entered the Northwest during the British régime have seldom been surpassed in shrewdness, energy, and business ability. Their vigor and initiative are attested by the remarkable growth of the fur industry between 1763 and 1796. From their headquarters at Montreal, Detroit, and Michilimackinac, they pushed down into the Illinois country and wintered in the wilderness west of the Mississippi, while some of them penetrated far into the country beyond Lake Superior. Hundreds of thousands

of pelts of many varieties were carried annually out of this vast range of territory. They included beaver, marten, otter, mink, muskrat, raccoon, bear, and cat. Their annual value probably fell not far short of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, perhaps more than a million dollars according to present-day standards.

Many interesting questions arise when one comes to consider the nature of the fur industry. What kinds of goods were used by the traders? What was done with the furs received from the Indians? How was the business organized?

There were three commodities which were an indispensable part of the outfit of every trader who penetrated the Minnesota wilderness — rum, firearms, and ammunition. Of the three, rum was probably in greatest demand. It acted as a lubricant in the conduct of the trader's business. It commanded a high price in furs, besides helping the Indian to see the force of the trader's arguments. The only concern of the trader was to avoid personal injury in the carousal which usually followed the dispensing of the coveted fire water. Arms and ammunition were needed by the Indians for the hunt — in other words they constituted the tools of their trade. It was apparent that the sale of liquor, arms, and ammunition might be abused, and so it was the policy of the British authorities for a period of several years to require an accurate statement of the quantities of these goods carried into the upper country. Merchants were obliged to take out licenses and to give security for their good conduct before their cargoes were permitted to leave the posts. In addition to the articles which have been mentioned, most traders carried with them an assortment of "dry goods," obviously so designated to distinguish them from rum or "wet goods." These included scores of articles, some useful and others not, ranging from needles and kettles to earrings and cocked hats. The Indian had a fondness for variety in the matter of wearing apparel. Everyone is familiar with the conventional portrait of the Indian— a figure of much dignity, robed in skins or blankets, and

adorned with vermilion, wampum, and eagle's feathers. The writer often has wished that some historically-minded artist might depict him as he must have appeared after a visit from a white trader. Some of the articles mentioned in the trader's invoices are striped calico shirts (strange to say, there is never any mention of trousers), cocked hats, shoulder epaulettes, and military coats. It is only reasonable to suppose that the Indians purchased these articles to wear. The portrait of the dignified warrior should, therefore, be revised and he may be pictured upon state occasions dressed in a cocked hat, a calico shirt, and perhaps a pair of brass epaulettes, but minus trousers. Some of the wealthier Indians probably varied this costume by the addition of a long-tailed, lace-trimmed coat. Their sense of the fitness of things seems to have equaled that of one of their descendants in the Oklahoma oil fields, who, having decided to purchase an automobile, selected a huge motor hearse and drove off in proud state with his family.

It is interesting to study the disposition of the furs secured from the Indians in return for the goods just described. Most of the pelts found their way sooner or later by one of the routes mentioned to Michilimackinac or Detroit. There they were sorted and packed in bales and shipped down to Montreal, either in canoes by way of the Ottawa River, the quicker method, or in sailing vessels by way of the Great Lakes. At Montreal, after being checked and sorted a second time, they were loaded on ships which sailed alone or in convoys to London. The center of the world's fur trade during the British régime was the city of London, where were held annually great fur auctions which were attended by buyers from continental Europe, especially from Germany and Russia. Many of the furs offered for sale at these auctions found Russian buyers and were carried to St. Petersburg. Some of them were sold in China, being carried overland across Siberia from St. Petersburg in caravans. The scope of the fur trade was truly world-wide.

Since the principal markets for furs were found in foreign countries, it is not surprising that the trade should have been affected by wars and other international complications. The price of furs in the Minnesota wilderness was directly affected by Napoleon's continental blockade and the British orders in council. What a boon the telegraph or radio would have been to the trader in the Indian country! As it was, his friends and business associates in Montreal and London did their best to keep him informed with regard to the fluctuations of the market. The correspondence of the period is filled with advice not to buy this or that variety of furs except at a very low price, in view of the state of the market.

The conventional portrait of the fur-trader is that of a man in buckskin shirt and raccoon cap, dispensing fire water and trinkets at first hand to gullible savages in return for ten times their value in furs. But there were hundreds of persons connected with the fur trade who never entered the wilderness at all. There were big London firms which forwarded goods to Canada and managed the auctions which have been described. There were large concerns at Montreal which handled the goods imported from London and forwarded the furs received from the upper country. There were smaller firms or private traders at Michilimackinac and Detroit who imported goods from Montreal and made up outfits which, in turn, were supplied to the traders who bartered with the Indians among the tributaries of the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi.

Almost the entire fur industry was based upon credit. The London firms sent goods to the commission merchants of Montreal on credit. These merchants forwarded them to Detroit and Michilimackinac upon the same terms. Outfits were made up and carried into the wilderness of the upper Mississippi, still on credit. Credit was in many cases the basis of the trader's dealings with the Indians. The goods which have been described as a part of the trader's outfit were not given directly to the Indians in exchange for furs. Instead, the trader

went to the camp of his particular Indian clients in the fall and advanced to them a certain quantity of arms and ammunition with perhaps some steel traps and small tools and implements, keeping a careful record of the transaction. The Indians then departed for their winter hunting grounds and the trader perhaps saw no more of them until spring. In the spring, if all went well, they returned to their rendezvous, bringing with them the results of the season's hunt. The trader was on hand to meet them and to receive the furs which they carried in from the wintering ground. If they equalled in amount the credit which he had extended in the autumn, all well and good. If they did not, it was his loss which he could only hope to make good at some future time. Occasionally a rival trader waylaid the Indians coming in from the wintering grounds, plied them with fire water, and cajoled them into giving up the returns of the season's hunt. In that case, the first trader got nothing. Again, the Indians might decide of their own accord not to return to the trader who had given them credit, but to carry their furs to another post. This pleasant custom was known as "stealing credits," and was apt to be a constant source of worry to the trader. But taking into account the fact that there was little or no legal authority in the Indian country, there was surprisingly little loss from such causes. The Indians as a rule fulfilled their obligations.

When the ice had cleared from the rivers in the spring and the trader had collected his peltries from the Indians, he carried them to one of the larger posts. He turned over his furs to the merchant who had advanced his outfit in the fall and received credit on the books of the latter. At times he might decide to forward the furs on his own account to Montreal, in which case the merchant to whom he was indebted perhaps acted as an agent, receiving a commission for his services. When the furs were received in Montreal, the firms in that city forwarded them to London to balance their accounts with the merchants located there. Two years, as a rule, and often an even longer period elapsed between the time when

the goods were forwarded from London and the time when the furs for which they were exchanged could be received and the accounts settled.

The canny English and Scotch traders who operated in the Northwest during the years following the Revolution soon came to realize the advantages of combination and organization, not only as a means of reducing competition, but as a means of facilitating the conduct of the business. The result was that trading companies began to appear in the field. Some of them were only small concerns and disappeared after a short time. Others were large and powerful and were backed by the strongest financial interests of Canada and the Northwest. The three most important companies which operated in the upper Mississippi country during the period of British influence were the Northwest, Michilimackinac, and Southwest companies. The American Fur Company arose after the War of 1812, when John Jacob Astor became prominent in the field. It is interesting to note that in 1811 the Michilimackinac and Northwest companies decided by mutual consent to limit the field of their respective operations in the upper Mississippi Valley. Accordingly, they drew up articles of agreement establishing a line passing through northern Wisconsin and Minnesota, south of which the Michilimackinac Company should enjoy a virtual monopoly and north of which the Northwest Company should hold sway. Probably these companies were Minnesota's earliest monopolies. They ruled their respective spheres of influence with an iron hand and did not hesitate to drive out private traders by violent means if persuasion failed.

The surrender of the Northwest posts in 1796 weakened but did not destroy the hold of the British traders upon the region of the upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes. Their influence continued to be paramount until the close of the War of 1812. It must not be supposed that they met with no opposition in the enjoyment of their monopoly. After the Revolution, but before the surrender of the posts, American

traders had tried desperately to push their way in, but without success. The economic and political advantages of their rivals were too great. The Spanish authorities also endeavored at various times to exclude the British from the territory beyond the upper Mississippi. Decrees were issued warning British traders to keep off the Spanish preserves. Carondelet, governor of Louisiana, recommended in 1794 that a fort be built at the mouth of the Minnesota to keep them out. Such decrees and threats did not disturb the equanimity of the British in the least and the Spanish officials fumed in vain. To have kept the British trader's rum out of Spanish territory would have taxed the ingenuity and resourcefulness of a modern federal prohibition officer. It was the energy and initiative of the British trader which in a large measure determined the character of the history of the Northwest from 1763 to 1815 and made the history of the region really the history of the fur trade.

Wayne E. Stevens

Dartmouth College
Hanover, New Hampshire

The first white man to leave a record of the use of the portage, however, is the Sieur de la Vérendrye, who crossed it on his famous expedition along the boundary waters in 1731. In his account he calls it the Grand Portage and refers to it in such a way as to lead to the inference that it was already well known by that name.[4] From this time until the French and Indian War French traders were pushing constantly farther and farther into the great Northwest, and the indications are that practically all the traffic passed over the Grand Portage route. A post was undoubtedly established at the eastern end of the trail, where the goods destined for the trade were landed from the large canoes used on the lake and prepared for the nine-mile carry to the Pigeon River.[5] At the western end of the trail, where the goods were loaded into smaller canoes suitable for river transportation, some sort of shelter probably was erected during the French period, but of this no information has been found. During the last conflict between the French and the English in America, which terminated with the surrender of Canada in 1760, the trade on Lake Superior and westward appears to have been abandoned, and the Indians were forced to resort to the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company far to the north or to get along without white man's goods.[6]

1886); Warren Upham, in *Minnesota in Three Centuries,* 1:276 (New York, 1908); and Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea,* 202.

[4] Margry, *Découvertes,* 6:586, 591.

[5] Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in his *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America,* viii (Philadelphia, 1802), refers to "the Grande Portage, where the French had a principal establishment, and was the line of their communication with the interior country. It was once destroyed by fire." Benjamin Sulte, in an article on "Early Forts in the North-West," dated 1919 and published in his *Mélanges historiques,* 10:139 (Montreal, 1922), says that "between 1718 and 1720 La Noue erected a fort at Grand Portage," but gives no indication of the evidence on which the statement is based.

[6] Mackenzie, *Voyages,* vi; Louis F. Masson, "Esquisse Historique," in his *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest,* 1:9 (Quebec, 1889); Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories,* 195 (New York, 1809); Gordon C. Davidson, *The North West Com-*

In November, 1761, a British garrison took possession of the post at Michilimackinac or Mackinac between Lakes Michigan and Huron. Shortly before this, however, one Alexander Henry, who had outfitted at Albany, New York, arrived at the post prepared to engage in the Indian trade on the upper lakes, and soon after other English traders made their appearance in the vicinity. If a narrative written nearly sixty years afterward is reliable, a party of these traders, accompanied by a military escort, made its way through Lake Superior to Grand Portage in May, 1762, this being the first voyage through Lake Superior under the British flag. This, if true, would indicate that Grand Portage was recognized at this time as the most important place in the western part of Lake Superior. The Indians of the Northwest, however, did not welcome the substitution of the English for the French; in 1763 the post of Mackinac was surprised, the garrison was massacred, one of the traders was killed, and the others were taken captive. This outbreak, which was a part of the conspiracy of Pontiac, put an end to British attempts at trade in the Northwest until the close of the Indian war in 1765.[7]

In that year Alexander Henry began trading operations at Chequamegon Bay, on the southern shore of Lake Superior, whence he dispatched an agent with some Indians to Fond du Lac; and in a year or two traders were established at various places around the lake and were making their way over the Grand Portage to the old French posts in the interior.[8] When Jonathan Carver, in 1767, found himself stranded on the upper Mississippi for lack of supplies, which he had expected to get from traders at Prairie du Chien, he determined to go to Lake Superior "in hopes of meeting at the Grand Portage . . . the traders that annually go from Michilimack-

pany, 33 (University of California, *Publications in History*, vol. 7 — Berkeley, 1918); Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 53.

[7] Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, part 1; "Thompson Maxwell's Narrative — 1760–1763," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 11: 215.

[8] Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, 192–196; Mackenzie, *Voyages*, viii; Davidson, *North West Company*, 34.

inac to the northwest; of whom I doubted not but that I should be able to procure goods enough to answer my purpose." Arriving at Grand Portage in July, Carver found about three hundred Indians assembled there "to meet the traders from Michilimackinac, who make this their road to the Northwest." The Indians received him kindly, gave him much information about the lakes and streams of the interior, and entertained him with a marvelous incantation and a prophecy, which was promptly fulfilled. Finally the traders arrived, but Carver was unable to procure from them the supplies which he needed for the continuance of his explorations and so he made his way eastward through Lake Superior. Carver makes no mention of any post at Grand Portage and from his narrative it is evident that at that time the place was occupied only intermittently. [9]

Alexander Henry made his first trip to the country west of Lake Superior in 1775. Arriving at Grand Portage on June 28, he "found the traders in a state of extreme reciprocal hostility, each pursuing his interests in such a manner as might most injure his neighbour. The consequences were very hurtful to the morals of the Indians." The transportation of Henry's goods across the portage was "a work of seven days of severe and dangerous exertion." [10]

The rapid increase in the trade by way of Grand Portage is indicated by a memorandum drawn up by General Haldimand in January, 1778. At that time it amounted annually to forty thousand pounds and employed five hundred persons, who, "for about a month in the summer season, have a general rendezvous at the Portage, and for the refreshing and comforting those who are employed in the more distant voyages the Traders from hence have built tolerable Houses; and in order to cover them from any insult from the numerous savage Tribes, who resort there during that time, have made

[9] Jonathan Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768*, 93, 106 (London, 1778).

[10] Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, 238.

stockades around them." The memorandum goes on to state that there was some jarring of interests at Grand Portage and that from the lack of officers representing the government in the region the traders had found it necessary to provide some show and parade such as the firing of cannon to signalize the arrival of the brigades and the distribution of medals — the purpose of this being to impress the Indians. [11]

The antagonisms among traders representing separate interests, possible dangers from the Indians, and above all the fear that disaffected persons at the portage might send supplies to the American troops then operating in the Illinois country were the reasons for the sending of a military expedition from Mackinac to Grand Portage about June 1, 1778. On May 18 John Askin, the commissary at Mackinac, wrote to M. Beausoleille, the clerk of the Northwest traders at Grand Portage, to inform him that he would have "an officer and several soldiers to pass the summer" there, and to direct him to have a house, equipped with a chimney, ready to receive them. The letter concludes with the following remarkable sentences, of which no explanation will be attempted: "I need two pretty Slave girls from 9 to 16 years old. Have the goodness to ask the Gentlemen to procure two for me." The officer detailed for duty at this northwesternmost point of British military operations during the Revolution was Lieutenant Thomas Bennett of the Eighth Regiment of Foot, and his detachment consisted of about twelve soldiers. Their operations at Grand Portage included the construction of a small fort, at the expense of the traders, and possibly the laying out of a road across the portage. Apparently they left in the fall, for the next year the traders petitioned for another detachment. Major De Peyster, in command at Mackinac, protested that, in view of the imminent danger of his being attacked by the rebels, he could not spare the troops; and no evidence has been found as to whether or not they were sent. [12]

[11] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 19: 337–339.

[12] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 11: 142, 19: 237, 239, 243; *Michi-*

weighed ninety pounds each and two or more were carried by the men on their backs, the round trip of eighteen miles requiring about six hours. How many thousands of trips back and forth across this trail were made during the entire period, it is impossible to estimate, but it is small wonder that the soil still shows evidences of the trampling of many feet. In 1788 the company requested a grant of land along the route to enable it to construct a wagon road over the trail. The request was denied by the council at Quebec, probably because it would have given the company a monopoly of the route, but later on the trail was improved so that ox-carts could be used on it. [17]

At the western end of the portage, where it met the Pigeon River, was another stockade enclosing several buildings, which was known as Fort Charlotte. Here the goods were stored until the traders were ready to load them into their canoes and start for the wintering grounds. Of the history of this fort little has been ascertained as yet, but it evidently was a place of considerable importance for many years. [18]

The Northwest Company was not able to maintain a complete monopoly over the trade which passed across the Grand Portage. Rival companies were established from time to time, usually to flourish a few years and then amalgamate with "the Great Company." One of these rivals, the X. Y. Company, which operated from 1797 to 1804, had a separate establishment at Grand Portage and also, probably, at Fort Charlotte, for the map drawn by the surveyors for the boundary com-

[17] Alexander Henry, the younger, in Elliott Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, 1:6 (New York, 1897); Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xlii; Henry Y. Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857*, 1:74 (London, 1860); George Bryce, *Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson*, 12 (*The Makers of Canada*, vol. 8, Parkman edition — Toronto, 1909); Davidson, *North West Company*, 23, 49, n., 204, 211, 231. For an account of the method of carrying over portages see John Johnston in Masson, *Bourgeois*, 2:165.

[18] Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 43; Henry, in Coues, *New Light*, 1:6; Heriot, *Travels*, 205.

mission in 1824 indicates the outlines of two stockades at the western end of the portage. [19]

At the very beginning of this period of the greatest activity on the Grand Portage, the land over which it ran became, by virtue of the treaty of 1783, a part of the United States. The boundary, as laid down in the treaty, was somewhat indefinite, but it was generally understood by the traders that it had been fixed at the Pigeon River. So long as the military posts on the American side of the line in the Great Lakes region remained in the hands of the British, there was little likelihood that the traders would be disturbed; and those posts, for reasons which need not be considered here, were not surrendered until 1796. Soon after the occupation of Mackinac by an American garrison, however, intimations were given to the traders that a revenue officer might be sent to Grand Portage to collect duty on the great quantity of goods being imported there into the United States. As a result of this threat, and also, perhaps, of a desire to avoid the difficulties of the long carrying place, the Northwest Company began casting about for another route to the interior. In 1798 the Kaministiquia route, by way of Dog Lake to the boundary waters, was discovered, or rediscovered, for it had been known to the French; and in 1801 the company commenced the erection of a new headquarters at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River. To this, subsequently, was given the name of Fort William. [20]

Apparently the X. Y. Company retained its headquarters at Grand Portage until the union of the two companies in

[19] Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 40; Coues, *New Light*, 7, n.; John B. Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party*, 6: map 57 (Washington, 1898). Since the above was written the outlines of the two stockades have been located on the ground. See *post*, n. 29.

[20] Roderic McKenzie, "Reminiscences," in Masson, *Bourgeois*, 1: 46–48; Warren in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 5: 292; Coues, *New Light*, 220, n.; Davidson, *North West Company*, 48, 105. David Thompson says that a United States collector landed at Grand Portage in 1800 and declared his intention of levying duties. See quotation in Burpee, "Highways of the Fur Trade," in Royal Society of Canada, *Transactions*, series 3, vol. 8, section 2, p. 188 (September, 1914).

1804,[21] but thereafter the greatness of the place was a thing of the past. A local trading post was maintained by the company at Grand Portage until after the War of 1812, but the portage itself was little used, and apparently Fort Charlotte was allowed to fall into decay.[22] During this war a British trader is said to have visited Grand Portage for the purpose of endeavoring to enlist the Chippewa Indians there resident against the Americans.[23] At the close of the War of 1812, Congress passed an act excluding foreigners from the fur trade in American territory, and Astor's American Fur Company purchased the posts of the Northwest Company south of the line. Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan Territory, in 1815 recommended the establishment of a United States military post at Grand Portage for the collection of duties and the enforcement of trade regulations. The recommendation was not followed, however; and, as the American Fur Company confined its operations on Lake Superior to the southern shore for several years, the Grand Portage band of Indians continued to be supplied from Fort William. "In the winter of 1824," according to Henry R. Schoolcraft, "persons in the service of

[21] Henry, in Coues, *New Light*, 1:218; François V. Malhiot, "A Wisconsin Fur-Trader's Journal, 1804–05," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19:169; Davidson, *North West Company*, 90.

[22] A map in the British Museum, which is reproduced in Davidson, *North West Company*, 144, indicates that there was a Northwest Company post at Grand Portage as late as 1818. Hind apparently thought that Fort Charlotte was an important post after the headquarters were moved from Grand Portage. He states that "Fort Charlotte was connected with Point des Meurons [*near Fort William*] by a traveled road in the time of the North-West Company." See his *Narrative*, 1:14, 74. General James H. Baker, on the other hand, in his "History of Transportation in Minnesota," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 9:9, says that a road thirty-six miles long was built in the earliest years of the nineteenth century between Grand Portage and Fort William and claims to have seen the remains of some of the bridges. Newton H. Winchell, in the Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, *Final Report*, 4:502, describes the remains of the dock at Fort Charlotte as they were in 1893. He makes the mistake, however, of assigning the name "Fort Charlotte" to the post at Grand Portage.

[23] Thwaites, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19:190, n.

the Hudson Bay Company [*which had absorbed the Northwest Company in 1820*] carried off in trains the band of Chippeways, living near old Grand Portage . . . after the arrival of an American trader." [24]

In 1831 a single trader was licensed for Grand Portage, but the principal activities at the place during the thirties centered around the fishing industry conducted by the American Fur Company. Grand Portage was a central station for these operations, and large quantities of Lake Superior fish were there assembled from various stations along the north shore and packed in barrels for the export trade. In 1839 the establishment there consisted of two family dwelling houses, a "new store," two "mens houses, 1 Coopers Shop, 1 Fish Store, Stable Barn, Root house, &c below or near the beach, placed here and there without order or symetry." About three acres were under cultivation and produced over two hundred bushels of potatoes. The fishing business was unprofitable, however, and seems to have been abandoned when the American Fur Company sold out in the forties. [25]

The village of Ojibway Indians, which had been located near Grand Portage Bay apparently before the coming of the first traders, remained after the glories of the place had departed. For these Indians a Catholic mission was established

[24] *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 19: 378, 430; *22* Congress, 1 session, *Senate Documents,* no. 90, p. 43, 46 (serial 213); Warren, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 5: 382; Folwell, *Minnesota,* 1: 132. The American trader referred to may have been Bela Chapman, who wintered on the north shore of Lake Superior in 1823–24 and visited Grand Portage in the spring. In his journal, which is in the Sibley Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, he tells of his unsuccessful efforts to prevent Indians from taking their furs to the British, who had given them "credits."

[25] Table in *22* Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents,* no. 90, p. 50; Gabriel Franchere's "Remarks made on a visit from Lapointe to the Fishing Stations of Grand Portage, Isle Royal and Ance Quiwinan — August 1839"; account of the fur trade around Lake Superior, written probably by Clement H. Beaulieu about 1880. The last two items are manuscripts in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Hind found an American trading post at Grand Portage in 1857. See his *Narrative,* 1: 75.

at Grand Portage about 1838 by the Reverend Francis X. Pierz; and a few years later the Right Reverend Frederic Baraga, the famous missionary bishop, visited the place and held confirmation services. Sometime during the forties the Jesuits are said to have erected a mission on the American side of the Pigeon River about a mile from its mouth and half a mile below the falls. [26]

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the history of the Grand Portage in the nineteenth century is its connection with the boundary controversy. The region was carefully explored and mapped in 1822 by the surveyors of the commission provided for in the treaty of Ghent. When the commissioners held their final meeting in 1827, the representative of Great Britain offered to accept the Pigeon River route as the boundary, provided the line should be drawn through the portages, including the Grand Portage. When this was rejected he offered to accept the river as the boundary, providing the portages should be free and open to the use of both parties. This offer also was rejected; but, when the boundary controversy was finally settled by the Webster-Ashburton treaty in 1842, it was on exactly these terms. This treaty is still in force, and presumably British citizens would be entitled today to demand the unobstructed use of the ancient trail over the Grand Portage. [27]

In 1854 the United States purchased the triangle north of Lake Superior from the Chippewa, but a tract extending from the lake to the Pigeon River and including the entire line of the portage was set aside as a reservation for the Indians.

[26] P. Chrysostomus Verwyst, *Life and Labors of Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga*, 284, 384, 386 (Milwaukee, 1900); *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 13: 487 (New York, 1912); Joseph G. Norwood, "Geological Report of a Survey of Portions of Wisconsin and Minnesota, made during the Years 1847, '48, '49, and '50," in David Dale Owen, *Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota*, 397, 398, 405 (Philadelphia, 1852). The location of the mission on Pigeon River is indicated on a map, plate N, at the back of Owen, *Geological Survey*.

[27] Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 500–502.

In the later years of the nineteenth century, this reservation was broken up, allotments were given to the Indians, and the remainder of the land, with the exception of reservations for possible hydroelectric development, was sold for lumbering purposes or opened up to homesteading. A number of settlers have taken up claims which lie across the old trail, and it is said that one of them has posted a sign to the effect that the road is closed. [28]

About two weeks ago a member of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society and a representative of a Minneapolis paper explored the old portage trail and found it still passable. At the western end they discovered the cellars and other remains of old Fort Charlotte and remnants of an ancient dock on the bank of the Pigeon River. Arrangements have been made for a detailed exploration of the site in the hope that it will be possible to reconstruct the outlines of the buildings and stockades. [29] The land traversed by this first white man's road in Minnesota, with its many historic associations, together with the site of Fort Charlotte and the cascades of the Pigeon River, should be included in a state park before it is too late.

Solon J. Buck

Minnesota Historical Society

St. Paul

[28] United States, *Statutes at Large,* 10:1109; 25:642; reports of the commissioner of Indian affairs, in Department of the Interior, *Reports,* 1896, vol. 2, p. 330; 1897, vol. 2, p. 312; 1906, vol. 2, p. 397; 1917, vol. 2, p. 93; report of the commissioner of the general land office, in Department of the Interior, *Reports,* 1916, vol. 1, p. 163; A. H. Sawyer to Minnesota Historical Society, April 26, 1922.

[29] Paul Bliss, "Back Two Centuries over Minnesota's Oldest Highway to Oldest Fort," in *Minneapolis Journal,* July 16, 1922, editorial section. For an account of the later exploration see the "Minnesota Historical Society Notes," in the Bulletin for August–November, 1922 (vol. 4, no. 7–8).

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A DESCRIPTION OF NORTHERN MINNESOTA BY A FUR-TRADER IN 1807

Contemporary descriptions of northern Minnesota before 1810 — even published accounts — are so rare that they may be counted on one's fingers. Therefore, when the document printed below was found among the Masson Papers in the library of McGill University, its value was immediately apparent. Though portions of it have been quoted in two well-known studies of the Northwest, the manuscript as a whole has remained in obscurity.[1] From its century of oblivion it is now recalled and given the publicity it deserves as an unusually detailed picture of northern Minnesota under the régime of the Northwest Company.

The account was written at the request of Roderic McKenzie, a prominent bourgeois, or partner, of the Northwest Company, who contemplated writing a history of the company. To secure the requisite data, in 1806 he sent printed circulars to many of the wintering partners and clerks, requesting them to collect and send him, in the form of letters or journals, such information as they could obtain on the regions and natives with which they were most intimately connected.[2] To George Henry Monk, Jr., McKenzie sent one of these circulars. The letter printed below is the reply. Whether the description of the region was sent with the letter or a little later does not appear, though the two could not have been widely separated in point of time. Our information concerning Monk is scanty enough. At the time of the writing of this

[1] Gordon C. Davidson, *The North West Company*, 240, n. 156 (University of California, *Publications in History*, vol. 7 — Berkeley, 1918); Louis R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest*, 2: 170, n. (Quebec, 1890).

[2] Roderic McKenzie, "Reminiscences," in Masson, *Bourgeois*, 1: 52, n.

letter he was a clerk at the company's post on Leech Lake. Possibly he can be identified with the G. H. Monk who was at Mackinac during the War of 1812 in the capacity of district commissary general. If so, his later history is tragic, for this man became mentally unbalanced as a result of the strain of those exciting days at Mackinac. [3]

Davidson uses the manuscript to demonstrate that the fur-trading posts were the earliest centers of agriculture in the Northwest and to show to what a surprising extent certain farm products were raised. Aside from rendering this service, it gives a very exact description of the much-traveled portage route from Fond du Lac to Sandy Lake; of the topography, fauna, and flora of the region; of the trading posts and methods of conducting business; and of the Indians and their customs.

As originally sent by Monk, the manuscript seems to have consisted of three parts: a letter to McKenzie, the account of the Fond du Lac department, and a collection of Indian legends. The third part was not found with the letter and the account. Possibly it still exists, though separated from the other two sections.

The courtesy of Dr. Gerhard R. Lomer, librarian of McGill University, in presenting a photostatic copy of this document to the Minnesota Historical Society has facilitated its publication.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

[3] For many references to the G. H. Monk at Mackinac, see the indexes to the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* and to the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*. In the latter, the name is given in certain places as G. W. Monk, but this is obviously a misreading of the middle initial, which, in script, is easily mistaken for a W.

LEACH LAKE 18th APRIL 1807.

SIR—

I received your letter dated at Kamanitiqua the 27th June 1806.[4] I approve much of the design, and will leave nothing untried on my part, to comply with your wish: poor as my abilities are, they shall be freely exerted, to assist in executing what may be conceived as interesting to Mankind.[5]

Your extensive knowledge must inform you, how incapable I am, at present, to comply with your request. The researches of the Historian, or Natural Philosopher, are unconnected with, and must ever be impeded, by our business in the Indian Trade. It would require much leisure and active scrutiny, to satisfy the inquisitive mind on the various subjects you have been pleased to submit to my attention. Many acquisitions would be necessary, and much assistance required, of which I am not master. What in a civilized Country would be an amusement, in these wilds becomes a laborious task. Until I shall be able to give some exact account on the most important heads, stated in your memorandum, I shall postpone communications on the subject. Previous to my

[4] It was at the annual rendezvous of the factors of the Northwest Company at Kaministiquia in 1806, apparently, that the plan for writing a history of the company was devised. Roderic McKenzie appears to have been the moving spirit. See Sir Alexander MacKenzie to Roderic McKenzie, November 7, 1806, in McKenzie, "Reminiscences," in Masson, *Bourgeois*, 1:51. Until the year 1801, or thereabouts, — for the exact date is uncertain, — Grand Portage had been the annual meeting place of partners and men of the Northwest Company. When the jurisdiction of the United States was extended to cover the region including this post, the Canadians were obliged to seek new quarters on British soil. Accordingly, a spot at the end of the Kaministiquia River trail was chosen and Fort William was erected. See *ante*, p. 23. It was not given the name Fort William, however, until 1807, and then in honor of William McGillivray, at that time the most imposing figure in the Northwest Company. From the new post, only a few miles northeast of Grand Portage, the canoe route to Rainy Lake lay through Dog Lake and Mille Lacs and struck the old trail from Grand Portage at Cross Lake. This Kaministiquia trail was not a new route, having been used in the French period, but it had been almost forgotten when Roderic McKenzie rediscovered it in 1798. See Davidson, *North West Company*, 104–106 and map facing p. 144; William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1:23, n. 60 (St. Paul, 1921).

[5] The design to which Monk here refers is described *ante*, p. 28.

knowledge of your plan, I had conceived a somewhat similar one, in a narrower scale. Your ideas have enlarged it, and determined me to proceed with confidence in my endeavours to discover what may be instructive, or entertaining to those, who wish to obtain a particular history of the several trails in this immense wilderness.

From what I say, I do not pretend to intimate, that any thing new or curious may be the fruit of my endeavors to give information — so far from this, it is my idea that all, that can be said on the chief points you state, will prove to be unworthy the attention of the present age; as I doubt much, whether a compilation of events and descriptions can, in the present state of this Country, be obtained with that degree of veracity that should attend, and form the basis, of an historical account. If a novice might be allowed to hazard an opinion, mine would be — that all I have been acquainted with since my introduction into the N. West, is more appropriated to furnish matter for a poetical piece, than a descriptive History. The poetical mind, on fancy's airy wings, may range this wild world, and where doubts arise, supply certainty by conjecture. The Historian has a far more difficult task — laborious in every Country — what then in this?

But, Sir, should your endeavors be crowned with the success I could wish to realize, how great must be the reward of praise offered by those, who are acquainted with the obstacles you must have to surmount. Whether these obstacles may appear great only to those, who have not the resolution to combat with them? or whether they be so great as not to be comprehended in one view? is what must be determined by those, whose superior knowledge on the subject, may constitute them as competent Judges. I beg now to remain with the respect that merit ever attracts —

Sir,

Your truly devoted, & ob^{t} h^{ble} Servant.

George H. Monk Jr.

Roderic Mackenzie Esq^{r}

Some Account of the Department of Fond du Lac or Mississippi by George Henry Monk Esq.

M[r] Thomson having visited the major part of this Department, it may be presumptive in me to attempt describing a subject in which I am, in so great a degree, his inferior.[6] However I will venture to trouble you with a few remarks some of which may probably have escaped his notice.

From Fort William to the River S[t] Louis boats are more Commodius, safer, and Cheaper Conveyance than large birch canoes.[7] River S[t] Louis disembogues itself into Lake Superior in 47° N. Latitude 92° 40′ west Longitude — proceeding four miles against the Current, the Channel 1½ miles wide, the river shallow and the bank sandy, we come to a shallow muddy lake, 3 miles wide and five long. Now the channel Contracts gradually to the foot of the Grand Portage, in low water about 200 paces wide.[8] The banks are here high and craggy, and in the spring as well as in wet seasons, sometimes the water rises in the space of 24 hours to 10 and 15 feet perpendicular. From this place we send back our boats to winter at Fond du Lac post.[9] Baggages are promiscuously thrown

[6] David Thompson, the well-known geographer and astronomer, had visited northern Minnesota nine years before Monk wrote. Presumably he submitted a report of his journey to the company, for Monk later mentions his description of Red Lake. See *post,* p. 37. It would be interesting to know more about this report, which seems to have vanished. Thompson's journals and a narrative compiled from them are in existence and furnish one of the earliest sources for accurate descriptions of northern Minnesota. The journals have never been published, but abstracts of them are included in Thompson's *Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812,* which has been edited by Joseph B. Tyrrell and printed in a substantial volume (Champlain Society, *Publications,* no. 12 — Toronto, 1916). The abstract of the journal for 1798, p. lxxv–lxxviii, gives incidents in Thompson's trip from the Red River to Sandy Lake and thence by the portage route to the mouth of the St. Louis River.

[7] See *ante,* n. 4, for further mention of Fort William.

[8] This portage, which was used to avoid the falls and rapids in the St. Louis River just above the present village of Fond du Lac, is not to be confused with the Grand Portage in the Pigeon River route.

[9] This fort of the Northwest Company was located within the limits of the present city of Superior, Wisconsin. Monk describes its situation on page 34, *post;* and Thompson gives the exact location as 46° 44′ 2″ north

together and formed into a general one: thus making them a common task for all the men in this as also in every portage in this quarter, which prevents many delays and disputes, such as are Customary to north west men, when any of them hurt themselves or fall sick. The portage is 27 miles from the entrance and 13 miles long. At the rate of 14 pieces per man we generally take from 7 to 8 days to cross it. At the westerly end of the portage to every two men we give a Canoe 20 pieces and their provisions. The canoes are 24 feet long and built wide and flat, the shallow and narrow rivers which we have to navigate make this construction, so much disapproved of by N. Westers, Necessary.[10]

The water is very dark, the river shallow, stony, and rapid: the banks generally sterile and Gloomy; and the Channel from 150 to 200 paces wide. This portage terminates that continued chain of rocks and mountains which form the North and west boundary of Lake Superior. Thence three miles to portage des Couteaux[11] which is 1½ miles long; thence nine miles to the grand rapid;[12] thence nine miles to Askibocan;[13] and thence 24 miles to River La

latitude. See his *Narrative,* lxxvii. For the building of the fort by Jean Baptiste Perrault in 1793 see his "Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of a Merchant Voyageur in the Savage Territories of Northern America," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 37: 569. The present village of Fond du Lac, Minnesota, grew up on the site of the American Fur Company's post, constructed some years later, farther up the St. Louis River.

[10] Men in the service of the Northwest Company spoke of one another colloquially as Northwesters.

[11] Monk here refers to Knife Portage, so named from the curious rock formation which cut the feet of the *voyageurs.* See *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 37: 170, n. 48; 521, n. 28.

[12] The Grand Rapids are given on few maps, but they may be found on a map of Minnesota compiled by William R. Wood, Charles A. Morris, and Henning V. Mindin in 1861.

[13] This stream is now known by its English equivalent, Artichoke River, which is a translation of the Ojibway name, *Ushkabwahka.* It is not to be confused, however, with the present Ushkabwahka River, which, like the Artichoke River, is in St. Louis County. See under "Artichoke river" and "T.53, R.16" in Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names; Their Origin and Historic Significance,* 499 (*Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 17).

Savanne;[14] here River S^t^ Louis takes a northerly Course and we continue a Southerly Course to Sandy Lake.

Three miles up the River S^t^ Louis on the South side, the N. West Company has an Establishment,[15] of which the situation is low, but Commands a beautiful and romantic view of Lake Superior, of the River and the small Lake.

In the proximity the face of the Country is either lakes and rivers, or low fenny, or sandy, or high and Craggy; few or no spots fit for cultivation. Some of the Lakes grow a scanty harvest of wild rice. The most Common wood is Fir, Oak, maple, Birch, Cedar &c.

Here are two horses, a Cow, a Bull, and a few pigs; with the manure of these animals a garden of 3 acres of pure sand is Cultivated, which produces about 220 Bushels Potatoes.

In april and May the rivers and Lakes abound with fish. viz. Sturgeon, trout, white fish, pike, Carp, &c. The rest of the year, excepting late in Autumn when a scanty supply for the winter is laid in, fish is scarce. Formerly this quarter was very productive in furs, but is now dwindling away to a mere trifle and the wretched Inhabitants, say 30 families, procure but a very scanty share of the necessaries of life; yet when these poor people are requested to migrate to a more propitious clime, they remark that this is their home and as such it is dear to them.[16]

[14] The East Savanna River, the strip of marsh between it and the West Savanna River, and the latter stream constituted the route for canoes between the St. Louis River and Sandy Lake. This was one of the most widely known canoe routes in the Northwest.

[15] Fond du Lac. See *ante*, n. 9.

[16] Thompson, in his *Narrative*, 286, makes very similar comments on this region. Another trader, writing in 1809, but describing his voyage of 1792, says of the Fond du Lac region, "The furs of this country are the best assorted of any of this continent, and the quantity would much increase were it possible to repress the mutual incursions of the Sioux and Chippeways who carry on perpetual war. The tract of country lying between the two nations for near one hundred and fifty leagues in length and from thirty to fourty in breadth, is now visited by stealth, and if peaceably hunted would be more productive than the richest mine of Peru." See John Johnston, "An Account of Lake Superior, 1792–1807," in Masson, *Bourgeois*, 2: 170. The return of furs for Fond du Lac in 1804–05 is given in Zebulon M. Pike, *Expeditions to Headwaters of the Mississippi River*, 1: 284 (Coues edition, New York, 1895).

The entrance of River *La Savanne* is 24 miles from *Portage La Savanne*.[17] Here the river is not navigable even for the smallest canoes. In this River as well ás River St. Louis we make three or four trips in some places. This portage is seven miles long; the first two *poses*[18] are so low and muddy, that in the spring & wet seasons, the men wade up to the middle in mud and water, and often wet pieces, indeed, there are instances of bags of lead being entirely lost. Five days is the usual time taken to cross the portage with 12 pieces per man, when there are few sick or lame men. At the west end of the portage is a small river also called *La Savanne,* and five leagues to the entrance where it disembogues into sandy lake; in dry Seasons a loaded canoe takes from 5 to 6 days to come down sandy lake, situated 46° 9′ 20″ north; is 5 miles long and as many broad. It empties itself into the Mississippi by a river four miles long, in the vicinity of which lakes and small rivers are numerous. When the land is not low and swampy, it is in general sandy & shaded with fir; that and oak, maple, Cedar, Ash, Birch, &c. are the principal wood which grows in this quarter.

Beaver formerly abounded here, but is now very scarce, and dangerous to hunt; being in the neighbourhood of the Sioux, the implacable enemy of the Sauteux.[19] Deer abound on the frontiers,

[17] Monk here means to convey the idea that canoes, after leaving the St. Louis River, passed up the East Savanna River for twenty-four miles before coming to the Savanna portage. Making this portage between the East and West Savanna rivers was one of the most unpleasant incidents which the fur-trader of the Northwest experienced. Few travelers who passed over it failed to describe either the swamp or the mosquitoes. The missionary, William T. Boutwell, sums up in his diary the feelings of many a traveler, when he writes under date of June 30, 1832: "To describe the difficulties of this portage, would puzzle a Scott, or a Knickerbocker, even. Neither language nor pencil can paint them." A copy of this manuscript diary is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. The Northwest Company's traders facilitated the passage of their men by constructing a platform over the entire bog. See William Johnston, "Letters on the Fur Trade 1833," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 37: 172.

[18] *Pose* was a French term applied to the placing or depositing of a load on the portage. From the act, the term came to be applied to the spots where such depositing occurred. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 37: 172, n.

[19] The Chippewa, or Ojibway, were called Saulteurs, or Saulteux, by the French, not because they were better jumpers than any other tribe, as

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say about white fish lake in 46° 32′ 32″ North Latitude — thence downward the deer is a constant inhabitant of the banks of the Mississippi. Wild rice grows spontaneously in all the shallow muddy parts of the lakes and rivers, of which the natives gather a small part. In april and May, Pike, Carp white Fish, Rock Fish &c., abound in the lakes and rivers, but the rest of the year fish is very scarce. On the south side of the lake the N. W. Company has a fort and garden; the latter produces about 1000 bushels potatoes, some beans and peas. The Company has introduced horses and pigs into that quarter.[20] Stationary warriors are not numerous; from their continual war with the Sioux, population is on the decline. While the men hunt beaver in the Spring, the women make maple sugar on which they and their children subsist.

From Sandy Lake to the Mississippi 4 miles, thence to the small Falls 150 miles,[21] smooth current, the channel 100 paces

some have inferred from the French word *sauter,* meaning to jump, but because the band to which the name originally was applied lived about the Sault de Ste. Marie. Coues, in Pike, *Expeditions,* 1: 30, n. 36.

[20] Pike, in his *Expeditions,* 1: 139–281, gives detailed descriptions of the Northwest Company's post at Sandy Lake in 1806, stating that it was established twelve years prior to his visit. The horses, he says, were obtained from the Red River region from the Indians. In 1805 "they raised 400 bushels of Irish potatoes, cultivating no other vegetables." Monk's care in recording so exactly the extent to which farming had progressed at all the company's posts merits the gratitude of students of economic history, for such descriptions are all too rare. It is interesting in this connection to compare the year 1807 with 1832 at the Sandy Lake post. In the latter year Boutwell, in his diary under date of July 3, records: "30 head of cattle, 3 or 4 horses, and 15 swine. He [*the trader in charge*] raised 600 or 700 bushels of potatoes last year. He has from 12 to 15 acres under improvement, cultivates barley, peas, and potatoes to a considerable extent, but no corn. Still, I am persuaded it could grow here. His potatoes look exceedingly well." A Mr. Grant was in charge of the post in 1806. Coues suggests that it was Cuthbert Grant, but this is impossible, for Pike states explicitly that Grant was an Englishman, and it is well known that Cuthbert Grant was a half-breed. See Pike, *Expeditions,* 1: 133. It seems more likely that it was the James Grant mentioned in "Liste des 'bourgeois,' commis, engagés, et 'voyageurs' de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, après la fusion de 1804," in Masson, *Bourgeois,* 1: 409.

[21] For descriptions of these falls, now known as Pokegama Falls, see Coues, in Pike, *Expeditions,* 1: 144, n. 52, and Joseph N. Nicollet, *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River,* 63 (26 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents,* no. 237 —

wide, the banks are generally low and thickly shaded with large trees, and are once or twice a year overflown, otherwise would be very fit for cultivation. This is the second and last portage in the Mississippi and only 450 paces long[22] — thence 75 miles to the little Ouinipic branch[23] thence to muddy lake 3 miles, thence two miles to cross the lake, which becomes an arduous task in autumn on account of the wild rice which grows in it very abundantly; thence 70 miles to leech lake, the banks of the river from the falls to leech lake are low and are either meadow or swamp.

Leech lake is 15 miles long and 12 broad, situated in 47° 16′ 13″ north latitude; Upper Red Cedar lake Situated in 47° 42′ 40″ north latitude. The little Ouinipic is 6 miles east of Red Cedar lake. These three lakes form the great source of the Mississippi, and are considered as such by General Pike.[24] *Otter tail* lake is situated 200 miles South west by South from Leech lake. Red lake is described by Mr Thompson. Lakes, Rivers, and swamps are numerous in this quarter, and where the face of the Country is dry, it is almost always sandy or craggy, very few spots are indeed to be found fit for cultivation. Maple, Oak, Cedar, Poplar, Fir, Birch, &c. are the principle kinds of wood which grow in this Country. Many of the lakes, Bays & Rivers are muddy and spontaneously produce vast quantities of wild rice, of which the natives gather but a small part. Beaver was formerly very abundant, but is now very scarce, and dangerous to hunt, being in the neighbourhood of the Sioux Tribes.

At Leech lake in April, May, the latter end of July, in August and September, fish is very abundant. In the latter end of October and beginning of November a fall fishing is made. Some of

serial 380). On the map which accompanies his report, Nicollet designates the falls as "Kabikons or Little Falls."

[22] Pike, in his *Expeditions,* 1: 321, says of the portage around Pokegama Falls: "The portage, which is on the E. (or N.) side, is no more than 200 yards, and by no means difficult. Those falls, in point of consideration as an impediment to the navigation, stand next to the Falls of St. Anthony, from the source of the river to the Gulf of Mexico."

[23] The main stream of the Mississippi, flowing from Little Ouinipic Lake, or Lake Winnibagoshish, is here distinguished from the Leech Lake branch, which Monk considered the main stream.

[24] *Expeditions,* 1: 152 and Coues's note on the same page. Thompson named Turtle Lake as the source of the Mississippi. See his *Narrative,* lxxvi.

the fish taken at this time is white fish, and is most excellent of the kind. A small lake called *Lac la Crosse* [25] is remarkable for a peculiar kind of white fish weighing about 20 lbs and is nearly as broad as it is long, and of superior quality. It is well known wherever wild rice is plentiful, the Country abounds in wild fowl. A hundred warriors are stationary here, who hunt beaver in the Spring, while their women make sugar, on which they and their children subsist.

The North West Company have an Establishment at the west end of Leech lake,[26] where five acres of ground produce 1000 bushels potatoes, 30 bushels oats or rice, cabbages, carrots, beets, Beans, Pumpkins, and Indian Corn. The Company have introduced, horses, cats, and hens into this quarter. Hunter's meat is scarce in this country, every possible effort is made in the fall to lay in the necessary stock of provisions for the winter; consequently a quantity of wild rice is purchased from the natives.

Round lake situated 60 miles north of Leech lake, is the source of the large fork [27] of Rainy River, and is inhabited by 15 or 20 warriors. On the North side of the Upper Red lake two freemen cultivate small spots of ground and some more talk of following their example; the natives would like this.[28]

Probably it may not be unworthy of remark that in this quarter as well as throughout all my travels in the wilderness, where the fire has ravaged the woods that in very few instances the same species grows up anew on the ruins of the old.

Old men point out to us the marks of old Sioux Villages, which Nation was driven away 70 or 80 Years ago by the Sauteux the present possessors. The former surely did not regret the evacuating a country covered with wood to go and inhabit vast plains

[25] This little lake in Itasca County is now known as Ball Club Lake. Both this name and the French one used by Monk refer to the famous game of lacrosse. See Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 253.

[26] In his *Expeditions*, 1:282, Pike gives a detailed description of the Northwest Company's fort at Leech Lake. Mention is made of an enclosed garden consisting of five acres of ground.

[27] The name of this stream is Big Fork River.

[28] Free traders or hunters — those not bound to service with any company — were often called freemen. Hiram M. Chittenden, in his *American Fur Trade of the Far West*, 1:55 (New York, 1902), calls them "the most interesting and enviable class in the mountains."

covered with buffaloe, which animal alone affords them meat & clothes; whereas the condition of *Sauteux* laborious and unproductive to themselves when compared to nations who inhabit the plains and meadows. All inquiry into ancient customs and manners serves only to convince that these children of Nature are as ignorant of the past as they are of the future. I send you a specimen of the most celebrated tales to be met with in this quarter [29] and which seem to be nearly as much credited here as that of Adam and Eve is in a civilized world. Agebois [30] is the language spoken here and is the same in origin with the Algonquin from which it differs but little especially among the *Pilleurs*.[31]

[29] On the manuscript can be deciphered a faint pencil note stating that these tales were sent in a separate paper.

[30] Monk's spelling of Ojibway is rather misleading. The Ojibway, or Chippewa, were of Algonquin origin. See Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* part 1, p. 277 (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins,* no. 30 — Washington, 1907).

[31] The Leech Lake Indians were called Pilleurs or Pillagers. They received the name, it is related, from the circumstance that soon after the conquest of Canada they robbed a certain trader, named Berti, of the arms and ammunition which he was planning to sell to their greatest enemies, the Sioux. See Coues, in Pike, *Expeditions,* 1 : 170, n.

THE INFORMATION BUREAU

A little-known activity of the Minnesota Historical Society is the maintenance of what is in effect a bureau of historical information. Queries, important and unimportant, interesting and uninteresting, are constantly being received from teachers, students, public officials, other historical societies, doctors, merchants, farmers, and business concerns. Most of them come from citizens of Minnesota, but not infrequently questions are received from individuals residing in other states. Information is asked on the Indians of Minnesota and their languages, on topics relating to local Minnesota history, biography, politics, economic development, wars and battles, and other matters too numerous to mention. The society also is often called upon to draw up bibliographies or to indicate whether or not any printed or manuscript material is available in its collections for the study of given subjects. In not a few cases the problems raised call for careful research and can be answered only after an examination of manuscripts or other unique materials in the society's collections.

It is believed that many of the answers which are prepared possess sufficient general interest to merit publication. With this number of the BULLETIN, therefore, a new department is initiated in which will be published some of the typical or more important questions and answers.

SLAVERY IN MINNESOTA

Can you give me information regarding the holding of slaves in Minnesota?

ROE CHASE, Anoka

A number of the officers stationed at Fort Snelling in early days, including Major John Bliss and Major John Garland, were slaveholders. Major Lawrence Taliaferro, who for more than twenty years acted as Indian agent at St. Peter's or Men-

dota, inherited slaves which he brought to Minnesota. Several of these he leased at different times to officers at the fort for specified periods. "Capt. Plympton wishes to purchase my servant girl Eliza," he wrote in his Journal on May 29, 1826. "I informed him that it was my intention to give her her freedom after a limited time but that Mrs. P. could keep her for two years and perhaps three." Eventually he liberated all of his slaves, the value of which he estimated to be between twenty-five and thirty thousand dollars.

Taliaferro maintains in his autobiography that the sale of a negro woman by Major Garland to Alexis Bailly was the only instance of the sale in Minnesota of a colored woman. Both Edward D. Neill and James H. Baker state that it was a man who was sold to Bailly, but neither questions that the transaction took place. Neill asserts that no other negroes were sold in Minnesota, but there is considerable evidence to disprove this statement.

James Thompson was brought to Fort Snelling in 1827 as the property of a sutler named John Culbertson. Thompson was purchased by Captain Day, an officer of the fort, who later sold him to a well-known Methodist Episcopal missionary, Alfred Brunson, at Prairie du Chien. The circumstances of this sale have been related in an article on "Alfred Brunson, Pioneer of Wisconsin Methodism," by Ella C. Brunson, in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, 1918, as follows: "Mr. Brunson felt the need of an interpreter for his missionary work, and learning of a mulatto slave, named Jim Thompson, who had been converted, had something of the missionary spirit, and was above the average of his race in education and mental ability, he approached the slave's master, a Kentucky officer stationed at Fort Snelling, and ascertained that Jim could be purchased for twelve hundred dollars. The missionary then wrote a letter to the Methodist publications of the time, setting forth his need and the ambition of the slave, and the result was that the money was quickly raised and forwarded. Jim was set free and at once became

a capable and faithful interpreter. He served long and well, settling at the end of his years of usefulness in St. Paul, where he died at an advanced age, in 1884."

In 1836 the famous Dred Scott was brought to Fort Snelling by Dr. John Emerson. Later in the same year Major Taliaferro, acting in the capacity of justice of the peace, officiated at the marriage of Scott to a slave girl, Harriet Robinson. Accounts differ as to the ownership of Harriet at the time of her marriage. Taliaferro claims to have given her to Scott, and this claim is accepted as fact by the historian, J. Fletcher Williams. According to other accounts, however, Harriet previously had been sold by Taliaferro to Dr. Emerson. An examination of the records of the Dred Scott case appears to substantiate the claim that Dr. Emerson owned both Scott and Harriet at the time of the marriage. A statement presented to the United States Supreme Court by both the plaintiff and the defendant in the case related that "in the year 1835, Harriet was the negro slave of Major Taliaferro. In that year, 1835, said Major Taliaferro took said Harriet to said Fort Snelling and kept her there as a slave until the year 1836, and then sold and delivered her as a slave at said Fort Snelling unto the said Dr. Emerson. Said Dr. Emerson held said Harriet in slavery at said Fort Snelling until the year 1838." According to the same statement Scott and Harriet were married "with the consent of said Dr. Emerson, who then claimed to be their master and owner." Taliaferro does not mention the marriage in his Journal for 1836. Not until 1864, nearly thirty years later, did he write his autobiography, and it is possible that when he then wrote about the matter he had forgotten the details.

There are allusions to Taliaferro's slaves in his Journals, in the manuscript collection of the Minnesota Historical Society, under the following dates: March 31 and May 29, 1826; February 23, March 30, April 3, and September 22, 1831; August 30, 1834; and November 28, 1835. His "Autobiography" is published in volume 6 of the *Minnesota Historical*

Collections. References to slaveholding may be found in Edward D. Neill's article on "Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840" in volume 2 of the same series, and in James H. Baker's "Address at Fort Snelling in Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Treaty of Pike with the Sioux" in volume 12. Other books from which information on slavery in Minnesota may be gleaned are Thomas M. Newson's *Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Biographical Sketches of Old Settlers* (St. Paul, 1886); J. Fletcher Williams' *History of Saint Paul and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota* (*Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 4); and Benjamin C. Howard's *Report of the Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States and the Opinions of the Judges Thereof, in the Case of Dred Scott versus John F. A. Sanford* (New York, 1857).

L. A.

EARLY DRAMA IN MINNEAPOLIS

Can you give me any information relative to the beginnings of dramatic entertainment in the pioneer days in Minneapolis?

CARLTON MILES, Minneapolis

There is little material on the history of the earliest dramatic enterprises in Minneapolis and it is, therefore, difficult to state when the first plays were produced. Musical activities and lyceum lectures probably took the place of drama in the earlier years of the city.

The first place used for theatrical purposes according to Isaac Atwater's *History of the City of Minneapolis, Minnesota,* 1:326 (New York, 1893) and Horace B. Hudson's *Half Century of Minneapolis,* 115 (Minneapolis, 1908), was Woodman's Hall, owned by Ivory T. Woodman. Neither source gives the date of its erection, but Atwater states that the first attraction here was the "Sally St. Claire troupe."

The second hall used for theatrical entertainment, according to the same accounts, was Harmonia Hall. "Here," says Atwater, "John Templeton, Alice Vane, and little Fay Tem-

pleton are among those who gave to the theatre the lustre of their presence." Between 1860 and 1866 Harrison's Hall appears to have been used for amusements, and in 1864 a second Harmonia Hall was built.

The first real theater in Minneapolis, the Pence Opera House, was dedicated on June 21, 1867. It was described in the *Minneapolis Daily Tribune* as the "largest in the west," with "as good painting and fresco work as any building in the United States." The floor was built level and furnished with removable upholstered settees, each seating five persons. The total seating capacity was 1,400, and the cost was approximately fifty thousand dollars. On June 24 it was opened as a theater with Rachel Johnston and J. R. Healy in the "Hunchback," which was followed by "East Lynne," "Lady Audley's Secret," "Leah the Forsaken," and "Ingomar." The company which produced these plays, like most of the dramatic companies in the early days, was a repertoire company offering a different attraction each night. Several weeks earlier, on June 3, Miss Johnston had made her first appearance in Minneapolis. On this occasion the *Tribune* made the following comment: "A new and meritorious star arose on the dramatic horizon last night. The opera glasses that swept the firmament conveyed to the retina of various eyes a pleasing picture. The play was the beautiful drama of 'East Lynne' and was put on the boards in a magnificent manner. The parts were well rendered, and the audience remained intensely interested to the last."

Early in July, 1867, Emilie Melville, "vocalist and comedienne," and her troupe, including George F. De Vere, Nellie Mortimer, and Mrs. Creamer, arrived in Minneapolis for a three weeks' engagement at the Pence Opera House. Their performances included "The Hidden Hand," "Our American Cousin," "Fanchon, the Cricket," "Somnambulist," "The Comical Countess," "Kitty O'Sheal," and "Camilla's Husband." During the third and last week of their engagement "The Black Cook" was played. About the same time a drama entitled "The Black Crook" was being given in St. Paul, and

this gave the Melville troupe the opportunity to run the following advertisement : "The Black Crook put to the blush by the Great Comic Sensational Extravaganza, entitled the Black Cook, introducing the renowned Parish Ballet Troupe! And Gudger's Transformation Scene!"

Charles Plunkett and his company of twenty actors also appeared at the new theater shortly after its opening. This was his second appearance in Minneapolis that season. On the occasion of his former visit the *Tribune* made very favorable comment on his work but caustically advised that "the orchestra should bear in mind that practice makes perfect and a personal application will perhaps enable them to play an accompaniment that will not set one's teeth on edge." The company presented a group of plays ranging from "The Drunkard," "Robert Emmett," and "Pet of the Public" to "Macbeth," which the *Tribune* states "was brought forward as well as we ever saw it," "The Merchant of Venice," and "Othello." This was a period in which the temperance play was very popular. Two were included in the repertoire of the company, "Drunkard Saved," and "Ten Nights in a Bar Room."

The Minnesota Historical Society has a collection of theatrical handbills dating from 1867. Most of these are advertisements of St. Paul attractions, but they represent many plays that also were offered in Minneapolis, and in these cases identical handbills were probably used in the latter city. The file of the *Minneapolis Daily Tribune* in the society's newspaper collection is complete, beginning with the first issue in 1867, and contains advertisements and criticisms of the various amusements offered in that city from time to time.

L. A.

RAMSEY'S EARLY CHURCH CONNECTIONS

I am desirous of learning whether the late Governor Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota was whilst a student at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, in the early thirties a member of the First Presbyterian Church of that city.

ETHAN A. WEAVER, Germantown, Pennsylvania

In the large collection of Ramsey Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society are copies of a number of letters written by Ramsey during student days. Evidence therein contained indicates that Ramsey was not a member of the church in question. On September 28, 1834, he wrote: "I have been several times in the German Reformed Church, and it is indeed a noble pile, the beauty of its exterior front and cloud-capped spire being alone exceeded by the taste and beauty displayed in its interior decoration." A letter of October 12, 1834, contains the following statement: "I attend church twice a day, which we are required to do once in the college chapel, and once mostly at the German Reformed church. Most of the students being Presbyterians attend that church."

B. L. H.

THE BOUNDARY AT THE LAKE OF THE WOODS

In the northern end of Minnesota, near the ninety-fifth meridian, is a little projection which looks as though it was a bite in the corner of Ontario. It is just east of the eastern boundary of Manitoba, and includes part of the Lake of the Woods. Can you tell me why this was originally included in the state of Minnesota when the map would indicate the normal dividing line would be a continuation of the southern boundary of the western Canadian provinces?

S. B. WILKES, Buffalo, New York

Ignorance of the geography of the region now included in northern Minnesota and, especially, of the location of the upper Mississippi River resulted in the curious extension of Minnesota's northern boundary at the Lake of the Woods. According to the treaty of Paris in 1783, the northern boundary of the United States in this region was to be a line drawn due west from the most northwest point of the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi River. When it was found that the sources of this river were south of the Lake of the Woods, it was proposed that the boundary be the shortest line between the above northwest point and the Mississippi River. Later it was

learned that such a line would fall south of the forty-ninth parallel, the northern boundary of Louisiana as ceded by France in 1803.

An attempt to settle the matter was made in 1818, when the following article was included in a convention between the United States and Great Britain: "It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn due north or south as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with such parallel, shall be the line of demarkation between the territories of the United States and His Britannic Majesty . . . from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains."

It having been finally determined that the forty-ninth parallel is south of the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods, the question was again taken up in the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842, which provides for a boundary running due south from this angle to the forty-ninth parallel. Further controversy concerning the exact locations of points and parallels ensued and it was not until 1876 that the protocol establishing the present boundary was signed.

Excellent outlines of the history of the northern boundary of Minnesota at the Lake of the Woods appear in the *Final Report of the International Joint Commission on the Lake of the Woods Reference,* 133–140 (Washington, 1917), and in Elliott Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson,* 1: 22–26, n. 28 (New York, 1897).

B. L. H.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Transition of a Typical Frontier with Illustrations from the Life of Henry Hastings Sibley, Fur Trader, First Delegate in Congress from Minnesota Territory, and First Governor of the State of Minnesota (A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the graduate school of the University of Minnesota). By WILSON PORTER SHORTRIDGE, M.A. (Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Company, 1922. viii, 186 p.)

The most original feature of Mr. Shortridge's volume lies in its somewhat unusual point of view, the nature of which is revealed in the title. The book is neither a biography of Henry Hastings Sibley nor is it, strictly speaking, a history of the early development of Minnesota. Because of this rather unique viewpoint, the reviewer may be pardoned for quoting the following passage from the preface, which sets forth clearly and succinctly the purpose and method of the study. "This account of frontier transition is a study in the history of the West. If the West be thought of as a period rather than a place, then the study of a limited area which passed through the successive stages in the evolution of society on the frontier should be typical of what was repeated over and over again in the conquest and settlement of the continent. And, in the same way, if a study be made of an individual who lived through and participated in, or at least witnessed, the various steps vivid illustrations of the significant features of the westward movement may be found. In the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century that part of the upper Mississippi Valley which became Minnesota passed through the evolution of society from frontier to statehood, and the most prominent man in that region during the period was Henry Hastings Sibley, fur trader, first delegate in Congress from Minnesota Territory, and first governor of the State of Minnesota. This region and this individual have been selected, therefore, as types in this study of frontier transition."

All of this has a familiar ring to those who are acquainted with the orthodox interpretation of western history, for it was just thirty years ago that Professor Frederick J. Turner read his famous paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Mr. Shortridge must not be presumed to be submitting new proof of the validity of Professor Turner's interpretation of the significance of the frontier, for that thesis has been generally accepted now for almost a generation. What he does attempt to do is to illustrate this thesis by the consideration of a special case. The Minnesota frontier may be regarded as a "laboratory specimen" which is examined with the idea of demonstrating the significant features of frontier development in general. This method is somewhat unusual in the field of historical research. The average historical monograph represents an attempt to ascertain and classify certain facts and, in some cases, even to interpret them. It is rare indeed that the writer of a monograph is fortunate enough to be able to start with a ready-made interpretation as a major premise and to confine himself to the citation of data which will illustrate his thesis. Yet this is what Mr. Shortridge does in the volume under consideration.

The study begins with an account of the early history of the Sibley family, including the genealogy of Henry Hastings Sibley, and traces its movement westward with the wave of migration in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. It is evident from this account that the Sibleys were typical pioneers. The first of the successive frontiers which passed over the upper Mississippi Valley was that of the fur-trader, and Mr. Shortridge describes a phase of this initial stage of frontier development in one of the best chapters of the book. Naturally he lays particular emphasis upon the fur-trading operations of Sibley himself. This is followed by an account of the entry of settlers into the region and a description of their principal occupations. The organization of Minnesota Territory is considered in some detail, after which comes an exposition of the subject of territorial politics between 1848 and 1852. Internal improvements, land policies, and similar matters are considered under the chapter title "The Needs of a New Territory." One of the outstanding chapters of the volume deals with Indian relations, which constituted a particularly acute problem in Minnesota for many years. Another important

and closely related chapter describes the Indian uprising in the valley of the Minnesota River in the summer of 1862 and its suppression by state and federal authorities. The author traces the growth of the territory culminating in its organization and admission to the Union as a state in 1858, in which year Sibley was elected governor. A chapter on the advent of the railroad describes the difficulties of a frontier community in providing itself with the transportation facilities so vital to its growth and development. The final chapter describes Sibley's activities during the closing years of his life. In the "Retrospect" with which he concludes his study, Mr. Shortridge very aptly summarizes the early history of the state and incidentally strikes the keynote of the entire volume. "The rapidity with which the West was settled is most vividly appreciated when viewed in terms of human life. In 1795, when Solomon Sibley came over the mountains to the first American frontier settlement northwest of the Ohio river, the history of the great West, the real American West, was only in the period of beginnings. Before his son died, in 1891, the frontier had disappeared. When Sibley, in 1834, made his way into the region which became Minnesota it was a typical Indian frontier; when he died, Minnesota was a State with a population of almost one and one-half millions."

In any criticism of the author's work it is necessary to bear constantly in mind his purpose, which has already been set forth in his own words. First of all, it may be assumed that if Minnesota is to be regarded as a type, the value of the study will depend in large measure upon the skill with which the writer demonstrates in what respect this particular case is typical of frontier development as a whole. The average reader will not feel inclined to criticise seriously Mr. Shortridge's treatment of the transition of the Minnesota frontier. But the question arises, to what extent does this special case typify or illustrate the general theory of frontier development which he assumes at the outset? It is feared that this connection will not be altogether clear except to those who have made a special study of western history, and western history as expounded by Professor Turner and his successors in this field. In other words, it is felt that the volume lacks a certain background which the average reader cannot safely be assumed to possess and which is essential to the author's purpose. In discuss-

ing specific problems of frontier development in Minnesota, would it not be well to explain briefly the extent to which these problems were typical of the frontier as a whole? For example, in treating of the public land question it would be possible to explain the principal features of the land policy of the United States as applied in other frontier regions during this period. It would then be possible to form an idea as to the extent to which the handling of this question in Minnesota was or was not "typical." The reader constantly finds himself saying, "This case may be typical, but just what is the thing of which it is a type?" The answer is, of course, to be found in a consideration, not necessarily difficult or involved, of the larger and more general aspects of frontier development. It is felt that the author confines himself too exclusively to Minnesota. The fact that he starts with a general thesis does not release him from the necessity of attempting a certain amount of interpretation.

It was not Mr. Shortridge's purpose to write a biography but would it have involved any real departure from his method if he had given us a little more information concerning Sibley the man? Sibley was clearly a remarkable character and yet he does not stand forth as a personality. Again, Mr. Shortridge's purpose, as stated in his own words, was to portray "the gradual evolution of society and industry in the upper Mississippi country." But he has said almost nothing concerning the life and the manners and the thoughts of the people, which certainly constitute one of the most interesting and important aspects of frontier development. In this respect it would seem that the author has missed a real opportunity.

On the other hand, the volume has many very good qualities. The chapters dealing with the fur trade and Indian relations are extremely well done and reveal an adequate grasp of these important aspects of frontier history. Particularly interesting is the discussion of the defects in the Indian policy of the United States government and of the factors entering into the negotiation of Indian treaties. In his discussion of the attitude of the frontiersman toward politics, Mr. Shortridge has given us a particularly good bit of historical generalization. The volume also has one merit which is not always characteristic of works of

this sort: the footnotes, while entirely adequate, are not overwhelming.

It is an indication of pedantry on the part of a reviewer to seize upon and drag forth isolated instances of typographical errors as evidence of his own vigilance. But in case errors of this sort are so frequent as to constitute a serious defect in the book, they may properly be mentioned. In the opinion of the reviewer this volume contains too many mistakes which careful proof reading might have eliminated. For example, in at least four different places, Mackinac is spelled "Machinac." The American Fur Company is referred to as having found itself "in close financial straights for some years" (p. 24). Two of the great fur companies which are frequently mentioned are correctly known as the "Northwest Company" and the "Hudson's Bay Company" instead of the "Northwest Fur Company" and the "Hudson Bay Company," as they are usually designated in this volume. There are a number of other mistakes and typographical errors which need not be mentioned.

The extensive and well-arranged bibliography would in itself be an evidence of the care with which the author had located his material and carried on his research, even if the text were not already sufficient proof of this.

WAYNE E. STEVENS

Maria Sanford. By HELEN WHITNEY, formerly assistant professor of rhetoric at the University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota, 1922. 322 p. Illustrations.)

This book is the story of a woman of rare personality, a Puritan in origins and temperament, who was brought to the University of Minnesota by President Folwell in 1880 and for twenty-nine years influenced successive classes of students as a professor of rhetoric and an inspirer of Spartan virtues. During this long period and after her retirement from the university she was known in her own state and throughout the country as a lecturer who was no less lucid in expression than clear in thinking. She discoursed on a wide range of subjects, from art and literature to morals and public questions, and her audiences were invariably interested

both in what she said and in what she was. For this Connecticut Yankee in the Middle West, this torch-bearer, this vigorous teacher of men and women, was possessed of an indefinable charm, a compound of qualities that made her — Maria Sanford. Perhaps no Minnesota woman has been praised so much as she, and if the author of her biography at times risks fulsomeness, the book is saved by the inclusion of a delightful poem written by Oscar Firkins, a veritable ode to "Maria" which closes thus:

Praise her not with smug obeisance,
Sleek and millinered complaisance!
Save your peppermint and raisins
For the dupe of sugared lies!
Praise her, travel-soiled and dusty,
Praise her, vehement and gusty,
Praise her, kinked and knurled and crusty,
Leonine and hale and lusty,
Praise her, oaken-ribbed and trusty,
Shout "Maria" to the skies.

The first chapter consists of "The Unfinished Autobiography," a brief and vivid account of her Connecticut home and her girlhood written by Miss Sanford at the age of eighty-three. "I come of good, strong New England stock," is the opening sentence. From the historical point of view, it is to be regretted that Miss Sanford did not continue and complete the story of her own life. So individual was she that it is inadequate to speak of her as a type. Yet many another Yankee has come out to the Middle West to contribute to the educational development of the section and we have too few personal records of the sort projected but left unfinished by Miss Sanford. Fortunately, many of her papers have been preserved and these have now been presented to the Minnesota Historical Society to be treasured alongside the papers of politicians, fur-traders, soldiers, missionaries, and business men who have played conspicuous parts in the drama of Minnesota history.

Nine chapters have been contributed by Miss Whitney, the general scope of which may be indicated by their titles: "A Connecticut Yankee," "The Teacher," "The Minnesota Pioneer," "Christian's Burden," "The Neighbor," "The End of the Teacher's Road," "'General Helping,'" "Harvest," and "The Farewell." The value of these chapters is considerably enhanced

by liberal quotations from Miss Sanford's speeches and letters, and these partially compensate for the absence of a finished autobiography. It is possible that a collection of letters, speeches, and papers by Miss Sanford would be worth publishing as a supplement to the biography and as a further contribution to the cultural history of Minnesota and to our knowledge of the unique and forceful woman who has been affectionately called "the best known and best loved woman in Minnesota."

Miss Whitney's book is frankly written as a tribute to Maria Sanford. It is not in any sense a critical biography. Primarily it is a sympathetic character study in which the central point of interest is never the external story, but rather the qualities developed, tested, and revealed in the character of the heroine, Maria Sanford. The keynote is sounded in the preface: "She was constantly communicating, through her own vigorous personality, a zealous enthusiasm for education, for character-building, and for civic righteousness to all young people with whom she came in contact."

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

Year-Book of the Swedish Historical Society of America. Volume 7. (St. Paul, 1922. 128 p.)

The article of chief importance in this *Year-book* is "Some Footnotes to the History of Swedish Immigration from about 1855 to about 1865," by George M. Stephenson. This is a mosaic of information mainly culled from and showing the value of the files of *Hemlandet,* the first Swedish newspaper in the United States, which was published at Galesburg, Illinois. Intrinsically there is considerable interest in Mr. Stephenson's enumeration of the causes of emigration; in his discussion of the efforts by the Swedish press, pulpit, and government to stem the tide of emigration; in the evidences adduced of misrepresentation of America by various agencies interested in an increased immigration; in the discussion of the issues of Know-Nothingism and slavery in relation to the Swedish element; and in the frequent references to conditions in Minnesota in the fifties. But the chief importance of the paper lies in its proof of the value of *Hemlandet* and similar materials as sources for the history of Swedish immigration.

In general, it may be pointed out that the scientific study of immigration from the historical point of view is a comparatively new thing. The pressing social and economic problems occasioned by the influx of millions of foreigners have blinded students to the widely ramifying influence of immigration on American history. As a result the subject has been left largely to the tender mercies of sociologists and economists. Many books of great value have, indeed, been written on specific racial elements in the population. But only recently have historians become aware of the possibilities of the general field. No adequate history of American immigration has yet been written. But general attention has been called to this very important factor in the history of the United States, for example, in the first chapter of Mr. Arthur H. Schlesinger's recently-published *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1922). As the entire subject is further explored by historians, sources of information that have been neglected by sociologists will be utilized. These will surely include newspaper material, the potential value of which is demonstrated in Mr. Stephenson's essay in the volume under review.

Mr. Stephenson also is responsible for the inclusion of a score of "Typical 'America Letters,'" written chiefly by Oliver and Mary Stephenson, from Henry County, Illinois, to relatives in Sweden during the period from 1859 to 1869. Embodying definite information on most of the features of pioneer life in the new world, these letters are typical of thousands of personal reports which were mailed home from immigrants and which translated generalities into concrete terms and specific things, messengers of truth about actual American conditions. These particular letters are distinctly human documents also, and in their quaint lines one feels the charm and responds to the force of the sturdy and attractive personalities of the writers.

Judge Andrew Holt contributes to the *Year-book* a valuable sympathetic account of the "Characteristics of the Early Swedish Settlers in Minnesota." An eloquent tribute to "Dr. Enander," one of the most distinguished Swedish-Americans, comes from the pen of his daughter, Hilma Enander.

T. C. B.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, assistant superintendent of the society, assumes the editorship of the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, beginning with this issue.

The attendance at the seventy-fourth annual meeting of the society, held on January 15, is conclusive evidence of increased interest in Minnesota history on the part of the people of the state. The morning conference on local history work was attended by about fifty persons representing eleven different counties, and nearly a hundred members and friends of the society were present at the luncheon to celebrate the enrollment of one thousand active members. At the afternoon session the audience numbered about a hundred and fifty, and nearly three hundred people heard the annual address by Dr. Folwell in the evening. A full account of the meeting will appear in the next number of the BULLETIN.

The active membership of the society crossed the one thousand mark just at the close of the year. At the luncheon to celebrate this achievement, which was held in connection with the annual meeting, "two thousand members by the seventy-fifth anniversary" was proposed as the slogan of a new membership campaign and announcement was made that the first payment of dues by annual and sustaining members enrolled thereafter would cover the balance of the present and all of the next fiscal year. The additions to the active membership during the last three months of 1922 numbered sixty-seven. In the following list the names of these new members are grouped by counties:

BLUE EARTH: Daniel G. Willard of Mankato.

GOODHUE: A. G. Siverson of Wanamingo.

HENNEPIN: Mrs. William H. Bussey, Floyd A. Chandler, George F. Darling, Mrs. Albert W. Hastings, Alethea L. Larawa, Frederick F. Lindsay, Frederick K. Lindsay, Elizabeth V. Sadley, Fred H. Sanders, William H. Shephard, Grace B. Sherwood, Reverend Roy L. Smith, and Herbert N. Watson, all of Minneapolis.

RAMSEY: Mrs. Walter L. Chapin, Abby A. Fuller, Arvid G. Gordh, Albert S. Gowen, Edward L. Kenrick, Gertrude Krausnick, Oscar L. Olson, August Palmquist, Clifton T. Parks, Marie N. V. Pearson, and Maude H. Whitney, all of St. Paul.

REDWOOD: Herbert A. Baldwin and Andrew D. Stewart of Redwood Falls.

ST. LOUIS: Er F. Alford, Dr. William R. Bagley, Archibald T. Banning, Julius H. Barnes, Archibald M. Chisholm, Albert B. Clarfield, Charles P. Craig, Arthur H. Crassweller, George H. Crosby, Frank A. Day, Francis H. DeGroat, William B. Getchell, Michael F. Hanson, Harvey Hoshour, Francis E. House, Robert Jaques, John Jenswold, Reverend Jeremiah Kimball, Luke A. Marvin, Oscar Mitchell, Andrew Nelson, Frederic W. Paine, Herbert W. Parkinson, William B. Patton, Hervey H. Phelps, John U. Sebenius, William C. Sherwood, Albert B. Siewert, Mrs. Gladys A. Swanson, James W. Walker, Levi M. Willcuts, John G. Williams, Dwight E. Woodbridge, and Raymond Ziesmer of Duluth; Dr. Frederick Barrett of Gilbert; and Thad S. Bean and John A. Redfern of Hibbing.

SIBLEY: Fred W. Rochlitz of Gibbon.

NON-RESIDENT: Frank M. Parcher of Hollywood, California.

The society has lost three active members by death during the three months ending December 31, 1922: Charles S. Fellows of Minneapolis, November 28; William B. Dean of St. Paul, December 5; and Oliver Crosby of St. Paul, December 8.

The number of public libraries and schools subscribing to the society's publications has been increased to ninety-seven by the addition of fourteen institutions during the last quarter of 1922. These include the public libraries of Coleraine, Stillwater, and St. Paul; and public schools in Frazee, Gilbert, Glencoe, Mankato, Milroy, St. Paul (Central High School), and Strandquist. The St. Paul Public Library entered five subscriptions, one for the main library and one for each of the branches.

An exhibit designed to illustrate the work of the Minnesota Historical Society has been prepared under the direction of the curator of the museum and has been sent first to Redwood Falls, where it is being shown under the auspices of the local women's

club. It is to be sent to Duluth in time to be displayed in connection with a meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society on March 5. The exhibit comprises six large cards on which are mounted Indian relics; photostatic copies of manuscripts, rare Minnesota newspapers, old maps, and title pages of valuable books; pictures of the exterior and interior of the society's building; and leaflets, maps, and charts relating to membership. Accompanying the mounted displays are copies of some of the society's publications. Thus every major branch of the society's activities is represented in the exhibit: the library, the museum, the newspaper collection, and the manuscript and editorial divisions.

The executive committee on January 25 accepted an invitation extended by the Redwood Falls Commercial Club to the Minnesota Historical Society to hold its second annual summer meeting in Redwood Falls. It is probable that this convention will be held on June 22 and 23 and will be preceded on June 21 by an automobile tour from Fort Snelling to Redwood Falls under the joint auspices of the society and the Sioux Historic Trail Association. To hold the second historical convention at Redwood Falls, in the Minnesota Valley, in the summer of 1923, is particularly appropriate as it will coincide with the centenary of the expedition led by Major Stephen H. Long which explored the Minnesota and Red River valleys in the summer of 1823. The unpublished journal kept by the leader of this important expedition is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. On one of the cards in the exhibit which has just been sent to Redwood Falls are mounted photostatic reproductions of three pages of this journal, containing entries made in the vicinity of the site of the future city of Redwood Falls.

A special Grand Portage exhibit, prepared for the annual meeting, will remain on display in the Indian room of the museum until about March 1. Included in this exhibit are an ancient water drum hollowed out of wood and used on ceremonial occasions, the peace pipe of the Grand Portage band of the Chippewa, old wooden tobacco and "pass-around" dishes, a shell charm used by a medicine man, pictures and relics from old Fort Charlotte at the western end of the Grand Portage trail, and a group of interesting

paintings by Mr. E. Dewey Albinson of Minneapolis. Two charts of the remains of old Fort Charlotte and a map of the proposed Grand Portage State Park add to the value of the exhibit. The charts were prepared by Mr. Albinson and Mr. Alvin C. Eastman, who conducted surface explorations at the site of the fort last summer. The exhibit also contains some articles of modern Indian workmanship, including birch-bark baskets, matting woven from the inner bark of the cedar, and a woven basket of the same material. Practically all the objects in the Grand Portage exhibit were loaned to the society, many of them by the Indians themselves, through the courtesy of Miss Effie Falconer, the Indian agent at Grand Portage.

One case in the Indian room contains numerous fur-trade objects which will be of special interest to readers of the present number of the BULLETIN. These objects include a tomahawk, a silver brooch, silver bracelets, steel arrowheads, iron spearheads, iron axes, a flintlock gun, trade knives, trade beads, a moccasin awl, five steels, iron hoes, and many other articles of importance in connection with the Indian trade.

In accord with the precedent established two years ago the society will celebrate Washington's birthday with an "historical style show" in the museum. The performance this year will be entitled "The Great American Family" and will take the form of a dialogue in explanation of a series of living pictures, which will be presented by members of the staff. The purpose, as in previous years, will be to illustrate the historical value of the large costume collection in the possession of the society.

Twenty-four meetings have been held in the society's auditorium during the last three months of 1922. These include two history hours, with talks by the curator of the museum, several meetings of classes from Mechanics Arts High School of St. Paul, and meetings of a library institute, the Minnesota Garden Flower Society, the St. Paul Housewives' League, and a section of the Minnesota Education Association. Five classes in American literature, to the number of two hundred students, came to the museum on October 10 and 11 for illustrated talks by the curator on "Life in the Colonial Period." "A Visit to Mrs. Spruce and

Mrs. Tamarack on the Grand Portage Indian Reservation" was described in the talk at the history hour on November 4.

The superintendent of the society attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association and allied organizations from December 27 to 30 at New Haven, Connecticut. He participated in the conferences of archivists and of delegates from historical societies and presided at a joint meeting of the American and Mississippi Valley historical associations. Two other members of the council of the society were present at the New Haven meeting, Dean Guy Stanton Ford and Dr. Clarence W. Alvord, of the University of Minnesota.

On October 4 the superintendent spoke on Minnesota history and the work of the society before the Hennepin County Medical Society. Similar talks were given by him before the history club of the University of Minnesota, November 18; the men's club of the Prospect Park Methodist Church in Minneapolis, December 3; and the historical club of Carleton College at Northfield, December 14. Since joining the staff in September the assistant superintendent has given three talks in which the work of the society has been discussed: at Hamline University, October 4; before the Norwegian-Danish Press Association in Minneapolis, October 13; and at a librarians' meeting held at the University of Minnesota under the auspices of the library division of the state department of education, November 18.

The curator of the museum, Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., read a paper on "Major Lawrence Taliaferro and Indian Affairs at the St. Peter's Agency for the Upper Mississippi, 1820 to 1840" before the Wisconsin Archeological Society at Milwaukee on December 18. While in Milwaukee he made a study of the collections and activities of the Milwaukee Public Museum, after which he went to Chicago, where he visited the Field Museum and the museum of the Chicago Historical Society. On his return trip he stopped at Madison, where he examined the Hamilton Archeological Collection in the museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The librarian of the society, Miss Gertrude Krausnick, attended the mid-winter meeting of the American Library Association at

Chicago from December 28 to 30. The annual meeting of the Minnesota Library Association, held in Duluth from October 2 to 4, was attended by Miss Elizabeth K. Clark, the head cataloguer.

Accessions

Much of the material included in the twenty-eight accessions to the manuscript collection received during the quarter relates to the fur trade and traders of Minnesota. These recent acquisitions supplement and add to the value of the society's collections of papers dealing with this important phase of regional history. An interesting light on the problem of the historical records of Minnesota is afforded by the fact that these accessions have been secured from such widely separated places as Montreal, New York, Washington, D. C., and Madison, Wisconsin. The document from Montreal is a photostatic copy of George H. Monk's account of a trip to Minnesota in 1807, printed in this issue.

From the State Historical Society of Wisconsin have been received photostatic copies of the papers of the fur-trader, Alexis Bailly, covering the years 1820 to 1846 and consisting of about 140 pieces. Most of these papers relate to the fur trade in Minnesota and consist of communications from such men as Joseph Rolette, Lawrence Taliaferro, Joseph Laframboise, Hercules Dousman, Joseph R. Brown, Philander Prescott, and Alexander Faribault. For the period from 1823 to 1834 the papers possess unusual value, as they are practically the only contemporary records of the Minnesota fur trade which the society possesses for those years. Many of Bailly's own letters are preserved in the collection. Photostatic copies of letter books of the American Fur Company for the period from 1816 to 1823 have been borrowed for reproduction from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, thus making available records of the early activities of the company in the Northwest. The orginal documents from which the first copies were made are preserved at Mackinac.

Photostatic copies of the population schedules for St. Croix County, Wisconsin, in the census of 1840, have been received from the census bureau in the federal department of commerce. These give statistics of population, pursuits, and resources for La

Pointe, Fond du Lac, Grand Portage, the region described as "west of a line drawn from the mouth of Porcupine creek to Upper Lake St. Croix and south of a line drawn thence to the mouth of Crow Wing river," the territory from "Crow Wing river to Red stone Prairie near Little Crows village," and Gray Cloud Island settlement. The names of heads of families are recorded in the population schedules, and among them appear those of most of the well-known traders and *voyageurs* of the period, the preponderance of French surnames being striking. Valuable data as to ages, number of persons in the family, occupation, and the like, also are given. As the earliest statistical record on file of live stock owned, crops raised, fish caught on the lakes, and similiar matters, the schedules for St. Croix County afford important new material for an early chapter in the history of the economic development of Minnesota.

An autobiographical sketch of Jean Pierre Pascal Baillif, dealing with his career from the date of his departure from France on April 19, 1835, until his arrival in Minnesota in 1839, has been donated by Miss Matilda Baillif of Bloomington, a granddaughter of the author. A translation by the donor and Mr. Ernest A. Baillif accompanies the French original. After varied experiences and considerable traveling, the author, in 1839, proceeded north from Galena, where he had worked in the lead mines, to Fort Snelling. The narrative includes a description of Prairie du Chien, the Indians and their customs, the Mississippi River, and Fort Snelling, where Baillif remained in the capacity of cook. In the spring of 1840 he settled on Lake St. Croix.

By arrangement with Mr. E. L. Peet of Minneapolis, the diaries of his father and mother, James and Harriet Peet, are to be loaned to the society for copying. James Peet was a Methodist minister who came to St. Paul in 1855 as a city missionary. The mission was not well supported and he left the following year to take charge of a mission at Superior, Wisconsin, where he served for a period of five years. Three volumes already have been received: Harriet Peet's diary of 1855, recounting the trip to St. Paul; and James Peet's volumes for 1856 and 1857, telling of disaffection in the St. Paul mission and of his removal to Superior. When these diaries have been copied additional ones will be received.

The documents constitute an important new source of information on pioneer church conditions in Minnesota and on the history of the northeastern part of the state.

The acquisition of a calendar of the records of the Sioux Claims Commission in the national archives at Washington adds to the material already available on the Sioux Outbreak a body of valuable statistical data. The commission was authorized by Congress in 1863 to receive claims for damages from persons who had sustained injuries during the uprising and to apportion the sum of two hundred thousand dollars among claimants who could produce satisfactory evidence of injury or loss. The calendar gives abstracts of the records of some five hundred claims, which comprise about eight thousand manuscript pages of addenda and appendixes to the printed report of the commission. These abstracts throw light not only on the events of the outbreak but also on agricultural conditions in the afflicted regions. A calendar of the commission's correspondence, copies of a few outstanding documents, and a summary of the action taken by the commission have also been acquired.

Two Lincoln letters have been deposited for photostatic reproduction by Professor Samuel B. Harding of the University of Minnesota, to whose father they were written in 1854 and 1855. The letters reveal the astuteness which characterized Lincoln as a politician.

The Civil War papers of Brigadier General Robert N. McLaren have been presented by his son-in-law, Mr. George E. Ingersoll. These papers are a valuable supplement to General McLaren's account of the Sully expedition against the Sioux in 1864, a copy of which is owned by the society.

From Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul has been received a collection of papers which throws a flood of light on social conditions in St. Paul during the fifties. One document, an expense book kept by Elizabeth Fuller during the year 1857 for the Fuller household, contains lists of articles of food, clothing, and furniture with their respective costs. The interest and value of such items may be indicated by the following samples: " 1 gal. Sperm oil, $1.75 "; " 100 lbs. dear [*sic*] meat "; " 10 lbs. Bear meat "; " 12

buffalo tongues for $9.00"; and "$239.75 for 43¾ cords of wood." The papers include seventy letters written by members of the Fuller family in St. Paul to relatives in Connecticut. These letters are to be withheld from the public until January 1, 1928, but very full extracts have been made by Miss Fuller, which are accessible. They contain vivid pen pictures of dances, parties, sleigh rides, "strawberryings," matchmakings, houses, and people in St. Paul in the fifties.

A paper by Mr. Thomas E. Hughes of Minneapolis on "Baptists in the Political Development of Minnesota" has been deposited by the author, who presented it on September 16, 1920, at Fort Snelling, when the hundredth anniversary of its establishment was celebrated.

Some of the papers of Judge Isaac N. Cardozo have been presented by his daughter, Miss Ellen Cardozo of St. Paul. They throw light on the career of a well-known lawyer who was for many years a United States commissioner in Minnesota.

Some interesting manuscripts dealing with conditions in other states have been received recently. Five letters written in 1844 as part of the correspondence between John P. Hale and J. B. Wiggin of New Hampshire have been presented by Mr. Herbert C. Varney of St. Paul. The letters relate mainly to the Democratic Party in New Hampshire and its attitude with reference to the right of petition. Hale had a distinguished political career as a congressman, senator, candidate for the presidency, and minister to Spain. Three letters written by David Olmsted of Clayton County, Iowa Territory, to relatives in Vermont in 1843, 1844, and 1848, have been presented by Hardy L. Wilson of Monona, Iowa. The nature of the region, the prices of products, revivals and temperance meetings, and the removal of the Winnebago Indians are among the topics mentioned in the letters. An account book kept by Solon K. Buck in Stow, Massachusetts, and Berlin, Wisconsin, during the periods from 1849 to 1855 and 1856 to 1875, has been presented by his grandson, the superintendent of the society.

Several additions have recently been made to the society's collection of museum objects illustrating pioneer life in Minnesota. A large spinning wheel for wool, a skein reel, and a swift have

been presented by Mrs. Annie E. Wood of Waseca. An ox yoke is the gift of Mr. Max Distel of Le Sueur. A large, old-fashioned coffee mill of the type used in many a pioneer home has been presented by Mrs. John H. Blegen of Minneapolis.

The picture collection has recently been increased in value by the gift of a handsome framed oil enlargement of Lafayette Emmett, who served as attorney-general of Minnesota Territory from 1853 to 1858 and as the first chief justice of the supreme court of the state. The donor is Dr. Leslie C. Lane of Minneapolis, a son-in-law of the justice. A large framed pastel portrait of the late Charles H. Berry of Winona, the first attorney-general of the state, and a smaller framed crayon portrait of his wife, are the gifts of Mrs. Frank Jerrard of St. Paul. Miss Mary H. Folwell of Minneapolis has presented a small steel engraving of Dr. Joseph A. Bowman, a pioneer dentist of St. Anthony. An unusually interesting addition to the picture collection is the framed pastel of the hanging of the thirty-eight Sioux Indians at Mankato on December 26, 1862, which was presented to the society by Mrs. William Hocking of St. Peter through the courtesy of Mr. Arthur T. Adams of Minneapolis. Captain Theodore G. Carter, the father of the donor, acted as officer of the day when the execution took place, and had the picture made in 1904 in accordance with his recollection of the scene.

The Indian collection of the museum has been enriched by the gift of Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul of a pair of heavily beaded moccasins of the hard sole type, a knife sheath, a game bag, and a number of other interesting articles. Ten fine baskets made by the California Indians have been deposited by Mrs. M. M. Mitchell of Minneapolis.

Gifts and other accessions to the library are too numerous to permit of individual notice here. Mention should be made, however, of an interesting lot of about five hundred curious old newspapers, pamphlets, and broadsides which had been preserved in an old New Hampshire homestead, presented by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert C. Varney; and of a valuable collection of about nine hundred books, magazines, and pamphlets received from the Le Duc family.

Important additions to the costume collection include an evening gown in the style of 1900 and a black waist with the large sleeves of 1895, both from Paris, presented by Mrs. E. C. Lindley of St. Paul and New York; and a large number of costumes, hats, and dress accessories of the late nineties and early nineteen hundreds, presented by Miss Mabel Gardner and other members of the Le Duc family of Hastings.

Governor Preus has turned over to the society a hand-woven and embroidered towel made by peasants in the Bashkvi Republic and by them presented to Harold F. Blandy who died at Ufa, Russia, while a member of the American relief administration. The towel was sent to the governor by Mr. Blandy's mother, who desired to give it to the state of Minnesota.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The following suggestive formulation of the function of history, which occurs in a *Report* of the Joint Commission on the Presentation of Social Studies in the Schools, should be of interest to students of local and state history:

The distinctive contribution of history to the social studies is to portray human events and activities as they actually occurred; its guiding principles are continuity and development. Therefore these events and activities are not regarded as isolated and unrelated or as of equal importance. Every condition or event is conceived to be related to something that went before and to something that comes after. Conditions and events are deemed important in so far as they serve to throw light upon some course of development. More briefly, then, the special and peculiar function of history is to trace development.

History places, and helps to explain, successive stages in the development of mankind. It constantly extends backward the memory of living men and gives them a sense of perspective to aid them in forming their judgments on contemporary affairs. In the light of history our most valued social possessions are seen to be deeply rooted in the past but the world is viewed as undergoing a continuous process of adjustment and change. Finally, history seeks to give students an intelligent notion of those human activities, decisions, and achievements which lie behind our present-day institutions and problems.

The mounting interest in state history for elementary and secondary schools is evidenced by the rate at which new texts in this field are coming from the press. A *History of Indiana,* by Logan Esary (New York, 1922. 362 p.) is a condensation of the same author's two-volume work on Indiana history. A novel feature of this text is the inclusion of an extract from a contemporary source at the end of each chapter, a device of undoubted value for stimulating interest and conveying a sense of reality to the student. In a number of cases, however, the source extracts selected appear to have no apparent relationship to the subject matter in the chapter. Much attention is paid by the author to social and economic history. There are chapters on pioneer industries, pioneer schools, the pioneers and their social life, public lands, roads, and other

subjects often omitted from state histories. Some of Mr. Esary's general views are of interest. "To know people," he writes, "we must know their habits; to know society we must know institutions, which are the personal habits of society. From the historical point of view, the people without their institutions are ineffective, while institutions without the people are empty as the shard of a beetle. Vitality appears only when people and institutions are seen in interplay." A new *History of Missouri,* by C. H. McClure (Chicago, 1920. 268 p.), appears to be an exceptionally comprehensive book of its kind. The nature of the author's approach is indicated by his last four chapters which deal with the coöperative work of public and private agencies in Missouri, the relation of Missouri to the World War, the work of Missouri writers, and the history of the state's press. A state history which abounds with pictures, charts, maps, tables, statistics, and bibliographical references is a *History and Geography of Ohio,* by William M. Gregory and William B. Guitteau (New York, 1922. 282 p.).

A stimulating essay entitled "Vitality in State History," by J. G. deR. Hamilton, is published in the *Proceedings* of the twentieth and twenty-first annual sessions of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1922. 128 p.).

"Local Historical Societies and Their Field of Work" is the title of a suggestive article by Otis G. Hammond, in the March, 1922, issue of *Antiques.* It has also been reprinted as a pamphlet (10 p.).

Few of the addresses and papers presented at the New Haven meeting of the American Historical Association and allied organizations from December 27 to 30 related to western history. Among the subjects of special interest may be noted the following: "Agricultural History as a Field of Research," by Frederick J. Turner; "Some Salient Characteristics of Frontier Religion," by William W. Sweet; and "The Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina," by John D. Hicks. Professor Turner's address was delivered before the Agricultural History Society, and the other two papers were read at a joint session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association.

American Indian Life is the title of a remarkable book edited by Elsie Clews Parsons and illustrated by C. Grant LaFarge (New York, 1922. 419 p.). Twenty-seven tales by different authors present a kaleidoscopic picture, or, more accurately, afford a composite photograph of native American life. The fictional method employed does not disguise the broad scholarship of the distinguished authors who are contributors to the work. Only three of the stories relate to tribes of the Middle West: "Little-Wolf Joins the Medicine Lodge," by Alanson Skinner; "Thunder-Cloud, a Winnebago Shaman, Relates and Prays," by Paul Radin; and "How Meskwaki Children Should Be Brought Up," by Truman Michelson.

In *The Hero of the Longhouse* (New York, 1920. 329 p.), Mary E. Laing describes in story form the life and achievements of the "historical Hiawatha," whose fame has been eclipsed by that of the poet's creation. The chief work of the real Hiawatha was the forming of "a nation by uniting the five tribes of the Iroquois."

An important article by the leader of the western school of American historians, Professor Frederick J. Turner of Harvard University, appears in the *Yale Review* for October under the title "Sections and Nation."

A valuable contribution to Minnesota history is contained in an article on "The Origin and Early History of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota," by John D. Hicks of the North Carolina College for Women, published in the December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. This study was read at the state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society in Duluth last July. In the same magazine is an interpretative study of "Nativism in the Forties and Fifties, with Special Reference to the Mississippi Valley," by George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota.

One chapter in Hanna Astrup Larsen's able study of *Knut Hamsun* (New York, 1922) deals with the latter's experiences as a young man in America, chiefly in the Middle West.

In an interview reported in the *St. Paul Daily News* for December 24, a former passenger agent of the Northern Pacific Railroad,

Mr. Clarence E. Stone, tells how he brought theatrical attractions to the cities of the Northwest, from Duluth to Portland, Oregon, during the years following 1883, when the Pacific railroad was completed.

At the annual meeting of the Swedish Historical Society of America, which was held at the Historical Building in St. Paul on December 2, two papers were read: "The Beginnings of Education among the Swedes in America," by Dr. Conrad Peterson of Gustavus Adolphus College; and "Reminiscences of Early Days in Minnesota," by Dr. Frank Peterson. A special exhibit of books, pamphlets, and newspapers, drawn from the library of the Swedish Historical Society, was presented in the museum.

Hjalmar or the Immigrant's Son is the title of a novel by James A. Peterson of Minneapolis, in which the scenes are laid among the early Norwegian settlements in pioneer Wisconsin (Minneapolis, 1922. 273 p.). The book is of considerable historical value because of the fidelity with which the frontier setting has been sketched.

In an effort to save old manuscripts, the New York Historical Society recently published a series of advertisements in a large number of New York newspapers calling attention to the historical value of old letters, papers, books, and documents. "Fire and the Rag Man," "Your Attic," and "Old Letters and Papers," were among the vivid headings employed.

The Indiana Historical Society has recently received a bequest from the late Delavan Smith of Indianapolis, consisting of the sum of $150,000 and the private library of Mr. Smith's father, William Henry Smith, the Indiana historian. The collection is valued at $200,000.

The most interesting article in number 2–3 of volume 6 of the *Michigan History Magazine* (1922) is on "Source Material of the Detroit Public Library as Supplied by the Acquisition of the Burton Historical Collection." This is a brief description of some of the manuscript treasures relating to the early Northwest in the invaluable collection presented by Mr. Clarence M. Burton. A mural tablet in bronze, placed in the Detroit institution, bears an

inscription which says of Mr. Burton: "His genius and interest lay in the collection of the original sources of history of this city and state and of the Northwest Territory. Having devoted a lifetime of effort to this work he presented the results of his interest and industry to his fellow citizens."

"The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin" is the title of the leading article in the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. It is a careful comparison by Joseph Schafer of the two racial groups with reference particularly to their relations to the land — a type of study that might profitably be made in other western states. In an editorial in the same number Dr. Schafer calls attention to certain dangers connected with a too trusting reliance upon "What We Remember." "Our memories," he writes, "when they volunteer testimony concerning events of long ago, should ever be treated as potential perjurers, and handled with all the rigor employed by the cross-questioner in a court of law."

An unusually thorough study of its kind is a *History of Banking in Iowa*, by Howard H. Preston of the University of Washington, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa as a volume of its *Iowa Economic History Series* (Iowa City, 1922. 458 p.). The book contains fifteen chapters dealing with all phases of Iowa banking history from 1838 to 1921.

The *Report* of the State Historical Society of Iowa for the biennium ending June 30, 1922, announces that on July 1, 1922, that organization had 1,220 active members.

A book on *Julian Dubuque, His Life and Adventures* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1922. 91 p.), by Richard Herrmann, is useful for its survey of the career of an important figure in western history.

A detailed study of the "Lewis and Clark Expedition in its Relation to Iowa History and Geography" is printed in the *Annals of Iowa* for October, 1921–January, 1922.

Theodore Roosevelt's ranching experiences in the eighties near Medora, North Dakota, have a perennial interest for students of the former president's career. A careful study of the subject by Albert T. Vollweiler is published in the *Quarterly Journal* of the

University of North Dakota for October, 1918, under the title, "Roosevelt's Ranch Life in North Dakota." In commemoration of the sixty-fourth anniversary of Roosevelt's birth, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for October 22, 1922, carries an article by Mr. Vollweiler which obviously is based upon the earlier study noted above. A "Real Chateau in North Dakota Badlands," built by a French nobleman, the Marquis de Mores, in the early eighties is described, and his unsuccessful commercial ventures at Medora, a town which he founded, are enumerated in an article by Kate H. Brower in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 17. Modern pictures of Medora and the chateau appear with the article.

Much information relating to the Canadian Northwest, with occasional references to Minnesota, is contained in the *Autobiography of John Macoun* (1922. 305 p.). The volume is published by the Ottawa Field-Naturalists' Club as a memorial to the distinguished Canadian explorer and naturalist.

The Development of the British Empire is the title of a valuable textbook by Howard Robinson of Carleton College (New York, 1922. 475 p.). In it the author traces in a comprehensive manner the evolution of the British Empire from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the present. Considerable attention is given to Canada and its relations to the United States, a subject of special interest to readers of this magazine.

In the *Manitoba Free Press* for October 28, W. R. Lowe describes an event in the annals of the Selkirk settlement — "the great mid-winter tramp of Jean Baptiste Lagimodiere" from the present site of Winnipeg to Montreal in 1815. How Lagimodiere delivered to Lord Selkirk the message telling of the threatened destruction of his colony by the Northwest Company and thus enabled Selkirk to dispatch a body of Swiss soldiers for the protection of the settlers is related. Another article presenting the romance of Lagimodiere's wife, "the West's first white woman," appears in the *Free Press* for November 20.

General Minnesota Items

The article on Minnesota in the new volumes of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* is a concise summary of the development of the state

since 1910. The subject is dealt with under the following eight headings: population, agriculture and minerals, manufactures, transportation, education, government, finance, and history. The article was prepared by Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The project for placing a marker by the Mendota chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution "to commemorate the treaty at Mendota negotiated on Pilot Knob whereby the Sioux Indians ceded their lands in the Territory of Minnesota and the State of Iowa to the United States Government" occasions an interesting article by Jay W. Ludden in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 5, which tells the story of the cession of 1851.

A phase of Minnesota's pioneer history that has been seldom touched upon — the territory and the state as the "playground of the nation" and a mecca for southern tourists before the Civil War — is set forth in an interesting article by William Kirchner in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for October 8. Some of the reasons why Southerners chose Minnesota as a refuge from the unhealthful summers of their own climate, chief among which are the facts that Minnesota Territory was strongly Democratic in politics and that this congenial district was easy of access by way of the Mississippi River, are pointed out. The frontier towns that tourists found at the head of navigation also are described. Pictures of the Winslow House and the Nicollet House, two hotels built at St. Anthony in the fifties to accommodate summer visitors, illustrate the article.

An article which deals with the possible development of an historic motor route through the region of the Sioux Massacre appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for October 29. Monuments already erected in the district to mark historic sites are described and it is suggested that many of these should be removed to the roadside, where tourists might view them and where they would be less likely to be neglected. Pictures of some of the markers and an old view of Fort Ridgely also are published. Certain flaws in the article are pointed out and additional material is presented in a second article in the *Pioneer Press* of December 24. This contains an appreciation of the valorous services of Colonel Timothy J. Sheehan during the defense of Fort Ridgely, based upon

information furnished by his widow, Mrs. Jennie Sheehan of St. Paul, and some recollections of the massacre by two survivors, Mrs. Mary Schwandt Schmidt of St. Paul and her brother, Mr. A. W. Schwandt of Vancouver, Canada. With the article appear portraits of the two latter narrators and of Colonel Sheehan.

The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* has reprinted and thus made available for general use four articles descriptive of northern Minnesota and Dakota a half century ago, which were written for the *Boston Daily Advertiser* in the autumn of 1872 by H. L. Bridgman. At that time the author was traveling with three United States commissioners and three representatives of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, who were inspecting the completed portion of the Pacific railroad. The reprints appear in the issues of the *Pioneer Press* for October 15, 22, 29, and November 5. In the first article the author describes Duluth, the eastern terminal of the railroad, with its fine harbor and wonderful possibilities for future development; in the second and third he tells of the journey over the newly-constructed road to the crude frontier towns of Brainerd and Moorhead. The latter was at the time the western terminal of the regular freight and passenger business of the Northern Pacific, but tracks stretched westward from this point nearly 150 miles into Dakota and were being extended towards the Missouri River at the rate of two miles a day by a crew of a hundred men under the protection of a military escort. The journey to Crystal Springs within a few miles of the "end of the track" is the subject of the final article. Each of the articles is appropriately illustrated.

At a meeting of the Minnesota War Records Commission on November 14, attended by four of the nine members, the secretary reported progress made during the current biennium and recommended for submission to the Governor and the legislature a plan for the work of the next biennium. It was decided informally, subject to the approval of the absent members, that in order to hasten the completion of its work the commission should request an annual appropriation of $17,500, instead of $10,000, the current annual appropriation. Before the end of the present biennium the commission will have published a history of Minnesota in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection,

but its original and major task, the publication of a comprehensive history of Minnesota in the World War, still remains to be done. Work has commenced on the preparation for the press of a history of the 151st United States Field Artillery, written by Lieutenant Governor Louis L. Collins, but this volume remains to be printed; and other volumes on the World War period are projected in accordance with the plan tacitly approved at the last session of the legislature. At the meeting of the commission it was emphasized that a request for an increase should not be regarded as might a similar request from a permanent state department, the commission being a temporary body with a limited task to perform and desirous only of completing its work at smaller cost, both in time and money, than would be possible under the present appropriation.

Among the articles of special interest to Minnesotans which have been published in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, during the past three months, is an account, by Captain Fred A. Bill, of "William H. Seward's Visit to Minnesota in 1860," based upon extracts, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, from the diaries of Charles Francis Adams and his son, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., who accompanied Seward. The narrative, which appears in two installments in the issues for November 25 and December 2, contains extensive quotations from such portions of the diaries as relate to St. Paul, the Falls of St. Anthony, Fort Snelling, and the journeys coming and going on a Mississippi River steamboat. In commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad, a series of articles, also by Captain Bill, is published in the issue of the *Post* for September 23 and October 7 and 14. Herein is described the famous excursion with which the Rock Island celebrated its completion to the Mississippi River in 1854, by bringing to the end of its road and thence by boat to St. Paul a group of prominent Easterners. Captain Bill deals with the same subject in an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for October 15. In an interesting pamphlet, entitled *Seventy Years of Service from Grant to Gorman* (1922. 48 p.), issued in commemoration of the same event, Mr. F. V. Nevins sketches the history of the road from the forties to the present.

An interview with Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul concerning his steamboating experiences on the Red and Red Lake rivers fifty years ago is reported by Jay W. Ludden in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 12. Some interesting descriptions of the valleys of these rivers and the embryonic towns upon their banks in 1872 are included. Early views of Winnipeg, Fort Pembina, and Fort Garry, pictures of two steamboats on the Red River, and portraits of Captain Bill and James J. Hill, illustrate the article.

A valuable series of articles by W. H. Brill dealing with the trunk highway system of Minnesota and embodying "historical information regarding road building and road laws in the state" begins in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for October 22. In the opening article, which is entitled "Minnesota Road History Dates Back to Early Fur Traders," Mr. Brill states that the first road to be built in what is now Minnesota connected Beaver Bay on Lake Superior with Greenwood Lake. Precisely when the road was constructed is not made clear in the article, although the author indicates that it was toward the end of the fur-trading period. It is improbable, however, that traders used the road to any great extent. The chief value of the article lies in its suggestion of historical possibilities in the study of the state's roads. The articles which follow deal with many practical aspects of the road system of the state, and occasionally introduce historical material. In the second article the author develops the idea that "Snow Blocked Roads Gave Birth to State Highway System." In the eleventh article, entitled "Counties Cooperate in Lacing State With System of Good Roads," Mr. Brill deals with a group of counties, describing for each the coördination of the trunk highways and the so-called "state-aid roads" built by the counties with financial aid from the state.

Plans have been adopted by the Norwegian-Danish Press Association to honor the memory of Paul Hjelm-Hansen. A commemorative plaque is to be prepared which will be presented to the Minnesota Historical Society. Hjelm-Hansen came to America from Norway in 1867, and from that date until his death in 1881 he was prominently identified with the Norwegian press in Wisconsin and Minnesota. He is especially noted as the author of a series of influential letters, written in 1869, describing an exten-

sive journey in Otter Tail, Douglas, and other western counties of Minnesota. In 1869 he was appointed by Governor Marshall to act as an agent of the state board of immigration. After leaving Alexandria on July 12, 1869, in a wagon drawn by oxen, he drove as far west as Fort Abercrombie and Georgetown, everywhere making inquiries of settlers and carefully observing conditions. In a series of well-written letters, published in newspapers both in Norway and in this country, he advertised the resources of the Red River Valley, vigorously urging Norwegian immigrants to settle in the region. He later traveled extensively in other parts of the state, continuing his communications to the press. The letters constitute a mine of detailed, first-hand information for students of settlement in Minnesota. They are published in the *Nordisk Folkeblad* for 1869, the files of which are preserved in the newspaper collection of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Members of the Evergreen Club, an organization composed of musicians who have been "active either professionally or semiprofessionally in music in Minneapolis for at least 20 years," recalled pioneer musical events of the city at their annual banquet on November 25. An account of the meeting appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 26. The pioneer custom in Minneapolis of driving "in a carriage from house to house to sing New Years' carols" is described in the same newspaper for December 31 in a report of an interview with Mr. George Eustis, the leader of a quartet which followed this practice sixty years ago. An interesting contribution to the musical history of Minnesota is contained in a book entitled *A History of St. Olaf Choir,* by Eugene E. Simpson (Minneapolis, 1921. 192 p.). The scope of the book is somewhat broader than its title indicates, for it tells the entire story of musical organization and activity at St. Olaf College, Northfield, an institution which has been fortunate in having the services of a remarkable director of music, Mr. F. Melius Christianson.

In a letter printed in the *Henderson Independent* for December 15, Mr. George G. Allanson, discussing the beginnings of farming in Minnesota, points out that the mound-building Indians raised several varieties of corn and beans, in addition to potatoes, pumpkins, squash, and sunflowers. They are, therefore, the original

farmers of Minnesota. The first man to raise wheat in Minnesota, Mr. Allanson asserts, was Joseph R. Brown, at Gray Cloud Island in 1831.

Interesting contributions to the agricultural history of the state are being made in articles on dairying by Charles F. Collison which appear from time to time in the *Minneapolis Tribune*. The most recent of these, published on October 8, is an account of the life and work of Professor Theophilus L. Haecker, who has taught dairy methods at the University of Minnesota since 1891.

In a pamphlet entitled *Public School Finance in Minnesota*, by Fletcher Harper Swift and Frances Kelley del Plaine, an able analysis of Minnesota's school conditions is presented, particularly with reference to the expenditure of funds (Minneapolis, 1922. 59 p.).

In a general survey of the "Present Status of State History Teaching in the Elementary Grades," presented in the December *Historical Outlook*, Mr. Harry L. Haun ranks Minnesota among those states in which state history is "not generally" taught. Mr. Haun contributes to the same magazine an article on "Progressive Tendencies of State History Teaching in the Elementary Grades," in which several interesting Minnesota experiments are considered, including a "socialized recitation plan" at the State Teachers College at Winona where "pupils of the 8 B Grade have written and to some extent illustrated their own state history."

Local History Items

The most important recent development in connection with local historical activity in the state is the organization of the St. Louis County Historical Society. The people of northeastern Minnesota have displayed much active historical interest during the past year. The first annual state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society was held at Duluth in partial recognition of this fact. That the St. Louis County membership in the state society has been increasing very rapidly is evidenced by the inclusion of almost forty St. Louis County names in the membership announcement printed in the present number of the BULLETIN. The ground was well prepared for the new county

society before its organization on November 25, when a constitution was adopted and officers were elected. Among the latter are William E. Culkin of Duluth, president; William A. McGonagle and Mrs. Julia M. Barnes of Duluth, and A. E. Bickford of Virginia, vice presidents; J. Daniel Mahoney of Duluth, treasurer; Mrs. Addie Mauseau of Duluth, secretary; and a board of governors composed of Edward C. Congdon and William C. Sargent of Duluth, J. C. Poole of Eveleth, Peter Schaeffer of Ely, and W. N. Tappan of Hibbing.

The constitution enumerates the objects of the society with particular emphasis upon the collection and preservation of the sources for the history of the county, as well as the dissemination of historical information and the marking of historic sites. Provision is made for active and honorary members, the former to be of two classes, life and annual, according as they make a single payment of fifteen dollars or choose to pay one dollar a year. The secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society is made an ex officio member of the organization. The officers include a president, three vice presidents, a general secretary, a treasurer, and "as many corresponding secretaries for different locations in the county as may be provided from year to year by the action of the Board of Governors." This board, composed of the president, vice presidents, and five elected members, is authorized to manage the affairs of the society. The president of the society, however, is the executive agent of the board and is compensated for his services. Four meetings are to be held each year, in addition to an annual meeting or convention to be held in alternate years in Duluth and other cities of the county. In case material is collected which is not specifically desired for the county "it may be tendered to the Minnesota Historical Society," and if there is a "cessation of an effective working organization" the collected materials shall become the property of the state society. Affiliation with the state society is provided through institutional membership, and an annual report is to be made from the local to the state society.

The first quarterly meeting of the new society was held on January 2. The *Duluth Herald,* commenting editorially on the project in its issue of December 30, says, "Our local history is of high interest. The story of early explorations, of the Indian

tribes, of ancient Fond du Lac, of the development of the fur trade, of mining, lumbering, farming, railroading, and shipping, all must be remembered and all must be set down and told. An interesting collection of old records and documents should be made, these being the original sources of local history. Perhaps some day a documentary history of St. Louis county may be published which would be an invaluable record of facts for the use of future historians." It is to be hoped that in other counties, where historical activity has not been organized or has remained uncorrelated with the work of the state institution, the example of St. Louis County will be studied and followed.

The annual meeting of the St. Louis County branch of the Minnesota War Records Commission was held at the local headquarters in Duluth on December 22. The chairman and director of the committee's work, Mr. William E. Culkin, submitted reports on the activities and expenditures of the year then closing. In reporting that the committee now has records of the war services of some thirteen thousand individuals, the chairman emphasized the fact that the committee's file is the only one in existence in which the names of those who entered military or other war service from St. Louis County can be readily obtained. Similar records in the state collection, it may be noted, are arranged for the most part without reference to county divisions. Progress was reported in the preparation of a narrative history upon which Mr. Culkin has been working, but consideration of the question of publication was deferred upon the chairman's recommendation. The committee agreed to an arrangement whereby it would share its headquarters and the services of the clerk in charge with the St. Louis County Historical Society, the latter organization sharing also in the expense.

A paper on "The Friendly Ojibways of the Lake Superior Country," by William E. Culkin, field agent of the Minnesota Historical Society in northeastern Minnesota, was read at the annual meeting of the Old Settlers of the Head of the Lakes, held in Duluth on December 13.

The circumstances which prompted Representative Proctor Knott of Kentucky to deliver a satirical speech on Duluth in the national House of Representatives on January 27, 1871, are re-

counted by Charles E. Lovett in the *Duluth Herald* for October 6. Numerous details are presented to explain how Knott ridiculed the idea of Duluth, an "'important city' of 300 people trying to secure a $500,000 appropriation for her harbor," only to produce the unexpected result of spreading the name and fame of the infant city.

A wealth of material on the early history of Renville County is included in the "Fiftieth Anniversary Edition" of the *Olivia Times,* issued on September 28. A general outline of the county's history is supplemented by historical sketches of its various towns, reminiscences of old settlers, an account of early political events, and notes on schools, teachers, and churches. A history of the *Times* with extracts from its earliest issues also is included. A similar edition of the *Sleepy Eye Herald-Dispatch,* published on September 14, celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the town. Much local interest is usually shown in special newspaper editions in which the historical background of the community is described. Occasionally the Minnesota Historical Society is called upon by editors to supply historical information for such issues. With careful planning and search for original documents in the preparation of anniversary issues, Minnesota editors could make genuine contributions to the history of the state by their publication. Such contributions, preserved in the society's files of newspapers, would be permanently available to students of local history.

Some of the changes which have taken place in Ramsey County since its establishment on October 27, 1849, are noted in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for October 27. Brief statements about five other counties, Benton, Dakota, Itasca, Wabasha, and Washington, which were established on the same date, also are published. Of special interest is a map showing the original and present boundaries of Ramsey County. The state's newest county, Lake of the Woods, is the subject of an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 26. A brief outline history of Beltrami County, from which the new county was detached, is included.

The interesting story of early settlement on Gray Cloud Island is retold in an article by M. Retlaw in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 3.

Chief Justice Calvin L. Brown is the author of a paper on "Stevens County in the Making and the Men Who Made It," which is printed in the *Morris Tribune* for November 24. In the same newspaper for December 15 Chief Justice Brown writes on "Some Politics, 1874–1878," discussing mainly the results of local elections in Stevens County for the period indicated.

In some of his more interesting sketches of "St. Paul Before This" recently published in the *St. Paul Daily News,* Benjamin Backnumber deals with the following subjects: "Kaleidoscopic Government" during Minnesota's pre-territorial period, October 29; a "bad mistake" connected with Albert E. Rice's election to the state Senate in 1874, October 8; how McGill was nominated in 1886, October 15; the election of 1847 in St. Paul, October 22; "Donnelly and Austin" in the campaign of 1864, December 24; Robert A. Smith, mayor of St. Paul for fifteen years, November 5; the attempt to remove the capital to St. Peter, November 19; "Early Newspapering," December 17; and Lot Moffet and his "castle," an early St. Paul hotel, December 31.

Considerable material on the industrial development of St. Paul and South St. Paul and the history of the live-stock industry in the Northwest is published in a special section of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 17.

Local newspapers seem never to tire of publishing the story of the founding of St. Paul by the redoubtable Pierre Parrant, alias "Pig's Eye." The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* needed no greater provocation than the death of a pioneer, Christopher D. O'Brien, Sr., to publish the oft-told tale in its issue of December 17, where it is combined with other bits of information about early St. Paul.

How St. Paul celebrated its first official Thanksgiving Day on December 26, 1850, is told by Jay W. Ludden in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 26. Notes on general conditions in St. Paul and on the festivities of the day are followed by extensive extracts from the sermon preached by the Reverend Edward D. Neill at the "Thanksgiving union services." His portrait with a view of St. Paul in 1850 and a picture of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, where the services were held, illustrate the article.

The wrecking of the old House of Hope Presbyterian Church in St. Paul occasions an article in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for October 4 which reviews the past of the historic church.

Considerable material is published in the *St. Paul Daily News* for December 17 on the history of that newspaper since March 1, 1900, when its first issue appeared.

The history of a much-debated subject — the development of power at the high dam in the Mississippi River between St. Paul and Minneapolis — is summarized in the *Minneapolis Tribune* and the *Minneapolis Journal* of December 24. The story spans the period from 1866 to the present.

The Hennepin County War Records Committee closed its office at the courthouse in Minneapolis in December, having completed, in large measure, the work of compiling and collecting records of the part taken by Hennepin County citizens and organizations in the World War. The committee, however, will continue in existence for an indefinite period, the secretary, Mr. Cecil W. Shirk, devoting his spare time to the completion of a few unfinished tasks. The committee's extensive file of records of local service men and welfare workers has been turned over to the Minneapolis Public Library, and its equally voluminous files of the war-time correspondence, reports, and other records of important local organizations have been added to similar collections in the office of the Minnesota War Records Commission — all of which will be noted in a report to be issued by the committee at an early date. Commenting editorially on the work of this committee, described in its news columns of the day before, the *Minneapolis Journal*, on December 27, observed: "The Hennepin County War Records Committee should be complimented on the thorough and able manner in which it has taken the individual threads of history and woven them into a solid fabric of fact concerning the County's part in the war. . . . It has . . . preserved as minute a family history of Hennepin County as could possibly be made. . . . Compilation of such a record has taken some two years, but it has been worth while. In time it will become one of the most valuable collections of data that the County possesses. It gives the answer to any question that may arise as to the part the County and its citizens played during one of the greatest crises in history."

Histories of Minneapolis and St. Anthony, originally published in the *St. Anthony Express* in November, 1855, are reproduced serially in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Journal* during October. In addition to brief narrative histories, descriptions of institutions and business establishments of the pioneer cities are included. A business directory of Minneapolis, which forms part of the installment for October 22, is of special interest.

The celebration of "Minneapolis Week" from December 3 to 10 was the occasion for the appearance of many special articles in Minneapolis newspapers dealing with the population and industrial growth and numerous other aspects of the development of the city. The *Minneapolis Journal* for November 26 contains a number of brief statistical articles, with large emphasis upon "first things," for example, the first permanent dwelling, the first school, the first store, the first newspaper, and similar points intended to illustrate "how the city got its start." A "Minneapolis Essay," encircled by pictures and portraits of historical interest, is printed in the same newspaper for December 3. The *Minneapolis Tribune* for December 3 contains many interesting and valuable historical illustrations in its rotogravure section and several short historical notes on local history. Among the latter is an informing article entitled "Overcrowded School Rooms Known in '51," which deals with the early school history of Minneapolis. Valuable as are these issues, it is to be regretted that so little effort was made to secure original contributions to the city's history, such as old letters, diaries, and other documents.

In the *Minneapolis Tribune* of October 1 is an article entitled "City Founded 75 Years Ago Today by Ard Godfrey," wherein is recounted the familiar story of the arrival of Godfrey and others at the Falls of St. Anthony on October 1, 1847.

A fragmentary history of the contributions to the cultural life of Minneapolis of Mr. Thomas B. Walker, and, especially, of his famous art collection, appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for December 31. The story, from 1892 to the present, of the Central City Market of Minneapolis, which Mr. Walker helped to establish, is published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 31.

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THE NELSON-KINDRED CAMPAIGN OF 1882[1]

Although there have been many acrimonious political campaigns in Minnesota since territorial days, the Nelson-Kindred congressional contest of 1882, which resulted in the election of Knute Nelson to represent the " Bloody Fifth District, " stands out as the most strenuous congressional campaign in the history of the state, and it is in some respects the most dramatic political struggle in the annals of Minnesota. A study of this campaign is desirable both for its intrinsic interest and for the light which it throws upon political practices in Minnesota in the early eighties.

The census of 1880 permitted an increase of two members in Minnesota's delegation in Congress, giving the state a total representation of five in the lower house. Before this time Minneapolis and St. Paul and all the territory to the north and across the state had been included in the Third Congressional District. As a result of the reapportionment of 1881, the northern half of Minnesota, comprising at that time twenty-nine counties, became the Fifth Congressional District. A line drawn from Big Stone City to St. Cloud and thence to the eastern boundary of the state would indicate the southern limits of this large district.

Many ambitious political leaders lived in the Fifth Congressional District, but it was generally understood, when the legislature made the reapportionment, that Charles A. Gilman of St. Cloud, who had served as speaker of the House of Rep-

[1] Read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 15, 1923. The author of this article, Mr. Elmer E. Adams, was graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1884. Since then he has resided at Fergus Falls, where for more than a quarter of a century he edited the *Fergus Fall Journal.* For seven years he was a member of the board of regents of the University of Minnesota. Since 1905 Mr. Adams has served in the state legislature during five sessions; thus he has a first-hand acquaintance with Minnesota politics.—*Ed.*

resentatives and was then lieutenant governor, would be chosen congressman from the new district. He was not, however, the only man residing in the district who had congressional aspirations. In Duluth, for example, there was Colonel Charles H. Graves, afterwards speaker of the Minnesota House and minister to Norway and Sweden. Another man of prominence in the same city was Judge Ozora P. Stearns, who had served for a short time as a United States senator by appointment in 1871. Others who were justified in entertaining congressional ambitions were Solomon G. Comstock of Moorhead, who later represented the district in Congress for one term; Andrew McCrea of Perham, who had been state senator for Otter Tail County in 1879; Knute Nelson of Alexandria, a state senator from 1875 to 1878; Alphonso Barto of Sauk Center, lieutenant governor of the state from 1874 to 1876; and former Governor Horace Austin; not to mention still others whose political records were of sufficient importance to make them possible candidates.

In view of the large number of Minnesota public men who were available for the congressional post, it is not strange that the appearance of Charles F. Kindred of Brainerd as a contender for the Republican nomination came as a distinct surprise. Kindred, a parvenu in state politics, had come out from Pennsylvania some ten years earlier to be chief clerk in the land department of the Northern Pacific Railway Company, with headquarters at Brainerd. To understand the importance of this position it is necessary to recall that the lands received by this company from the national government were equivalent to a strip of territory forty miles wide across the state of Minnesota and eighty miles wide across the Territory of Dakota, and included numerous town sites along the line of the railway. The office in which Kindred was employed under the land commissioner's direction had charge of the management and sale of the company's lands. For a man of Kindred's type it was an ideal place for the making of money. The lands

to be sold were among the most fertile in Minnesota and Dakota. Prices ranged from three to ten dollars per acre. The publicity attendant upon the later congressional campaign revealed the fact that Kindred utilized every method of profiting at the expense of the company which he was serving and of the people who were buying its lands. Payment could be made in the preferred stock of the Northern Pacific Railway Company, and this stock could be purchased at fifteen cents on the dollar. A settler purchasing a quarter section of land at five dollars per acre would pay the company eight hundred dollars for it. He had the alternative, however, of going out and buying eight hundred dollars' worth of the company's preferred stock for one hundred and twenty dollars and paying for his land with the paper thus secured.

It was apparently Kindred's practice, when a settler came to buy a section or a quarter section of land, to go out and purchase the stock and turn this in to the company, either taking the settler's money or accepting a mortgage upon the land, drawing a good rate of interest and covering the full amount asked by the railway company. In this way he was able to enrich himself very rapidly. In 1881 his manipulations of the company's business had become so flagrant that a committee of the board of directors was appointed to investigate his acts. The subsequent report of this committee was made the basis of a law suit which, although it was compromised, forced Kindred to return to the Northern Pacific a large amount of money, said to be about seventy-five thousand dollars, although it may have been much more. In any event, during the time when he acted as chief clerk he probably accumulated a fortune of a quarter of a million dollars and also acquired possession of large holdings of choice lands. He had a famous stock farm near Valley City where important demonstration work was carried on.

Upon the organization of the fifth district Kindred announced his desire to be its representative in Congress, and in

1882 he entered upon an active campaign.[2] From the very start he made it clear that he was prepared to pay the necessary price for a seat in Congress. Indeed, it was one of the bits of gossip afloat during the campaign that, on the occasion of a visit to Cushman K. Davis, Kindred stated that he had one hundred thousand dollars to spend to secure the election. Davis is reported to have replied that the best way in which to get results would be to visit Alexandria, call on a certain Norwegian in that place, and persuade the latter to withdraw from the race, for if he ever started Kindred would never land in Washington. Kindred did not visit Alexandria and did not go to Washington, but he appears not only to have expended the hundred thousand dollars, but to have promised to pay nearly as much more. No corrupt practices act was in existence to limit the campaign expenses which an unscrupulous candidate might incur.

According to those who knew him Kindred possessed a pleasing personality. He was a big, strong, genial fellow, trained in the political methods in vogue in Pennsylvania at that time. After his defeat in the Minnesota campaign of 1882 he returned to his native state, where he was employed by the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company and was a leader in one of the large wards of Philadelphia. As soon as Kindred opened his campaign in the spring of 1882 for the Republican nomination the other candidates entered the field. They were Nelson, Graves, and Gilman. It soon became apparent, however, that the choice would lie between Kindred and Nelson or that a compromise candidate would be nominated.

After the creation of the new district the state central committee of the Republican party appointed a district committee which was to take charge of the party's interests until an or-

[2] His political career in Minnesota had been confined to acting as a delegate to the Republican national convention in 1880. It was expected that he would vote for the nomination of William Windom, but he gave his support to Grant for a third term.

ganization could be perfected by a party convention. This committee was composed of Colonel George H. Johnston of Detroit, chairman, Alphonso Barto of Sauk Center, S. G. Comstock of Moorhead, Judge Reuben Reynolds of Crookston, Lars K. Aaker of Alexandria, Adsit C. Hatch of Battle Lake, Howard C. Kendall of Duluth, Colonel C. B. Sleeper of Brainerd, and F. G. Tuttle of Ortonville.

The congressional convention was called to meet at Detroit on July 12. In considering the preparations made for this convention, the reader must remember that in the eighties no laws governed the actions of political parties. There were rules, to be sure, but even these were variously interpreted by political committees. The Australian ballot had not been adopted. At caucuses or conventions or even at general elections no official ballots were used. It was the business of the candidates to see that there were ballots at the voting places on the day of election and that their own names were upon these ballots. If by hook or by crook the ballots were removed, the voter had no way of casting his vote except by writing the names of the favored candidates on a piece of paper. The county committees called county conventions for the election of delegates to the district convention, but there was no regular time for the holding of these conventions nor were there any rules for the holding of caucuses to elect the township and village delegations to the county conventions. The result was that town committees might in some cases hold snap caucuses without encountering serious opposition. Early in the campaign of 1882 it became evident that Kindred proposed to win county delegations no matter what methods he had to employ.

A generation ago party "regularity" meant much more than it does in these days of independent voting and broken-down party lines. A man was not in good standing with his party unless he accepted the results of the caucuses and conventions and gave his support to those who were finally designated as nominees. After the fifth district Republican

convention in 1882, which will be described in this paper, two candidates claimed the nomination. Although most of the regular Republicans supported Knute Nelson, many who lived along the line of the Northern Pacific Railway gave their votes to Kindred.

As a matter of fact, Kindred's strength lay almost wholly in the Northern Pacific country. Travel north and south was far less common then than now, and consequently the area traversed by the railroad was almost isolated from the older and more settled territory to the south. Kindred had placed many men under obligation to him in his handling of the Northern Pacific lands, for he rendered favors to some while fleecing others. Speculators in land, who were eager to get the notes and examination reports which were in Kindred's charge, were numerous. He had aided many influential men in securing land and his favors had won for him a considerable legitimate support. The Brainerd region was solidly for him and he had a considerable following in and around Duluth.[3] It is interesting to note in this connection that St. Louis County, which had not yet developed its great mining enterprises, sent only three delegates to the Detroit convention, whereas Otter Tail, the most influential county in the district, sent nine. Kindred was able to develop some strength before and after the convention by putting forward candidates for county and legislative offices where there was no opposition to the candidates supporting Nelson. In the Northern Pacific territory Kindred did not have to exert great efforts to get delegates, and so he started out to secure the delegations in the Nelson territory, where the population was very largely Norwegian.

The first real clash occurred in Norman County where Kindred had secured the support of Frederick Puhler, a newspaper editor in Ada and chairman of the county committee.

[3] Among the most active supporters of Kindred were the two brothers, G. G. Hartley and W. W. Hartley of Brainerd, afterwards prominent throughout the state.

The latter issued a call for a county convention to be held in Ada on June 1. The call, which was formally issued on May 25, was published for the first time in Puhler's newspaper on the day before the convention. Puhler had hired all the teams in Ada in order to prevent the Nelson men from reaching the outside towns except on foot. It has been charged that he engaged teams and sent out men to get up snap caucuses for Kindred who himself came to Ada to help along the work. Of course no automobiles or telephones were available. Sharp practices notwithstanding, out of forty-three delegates who assembled on June 1 Nelson had twenty-eight, or a clear majority uncontested, Kindred had seven, and the remainder were contested.

Realizing their inexperience in political methods, the Nelson men held a rehearsal convention in the forenoon of the day on which the regular convention was to meet. They went through all the motions and proceedings of organization so that they would know what to do when the convention met at two o'clock in the afternoon. It has been alleged that the Kindred men attempted to buy off the Nelson delegates. Upon the failure of this attempt, Puhler ordered policemen at the door of the hall to admit only those who could show credentials received from him. But the Nelson contingent was too strong to be thus thwarted. As soon as the convention was called to order, the Nelson men nominated a chairman and Puhler refused to put the motion. A Kindred adherent was then nominated, and after putting the motion Puhler declared it carried. In the meantime a Nelson delegate put the motion for the nomination of one of his group who was then declared elected and who immediately took the chair. Puhler and his followers then left the hall and elected a delegation to Detroit. The Nelson forces completed the work of their convention.

This opening skirmish marked the beginning of a series of sharp clashes throughout the entire district, and in nearly every county two sets of delegates were chosen. By the press and people throughout the state it was generally conceded that

the Nelson delegates — save in three or four counties — had been regularly elected. Even Douglas County, Nelson's home county, was invaded by the Kindred men, but Colonel Sleeper tried in vain to secure a delegation from Alexandria. He was more successful in Stevens County. A lively row occurred at Hancock where Bronson Strain was chairman of the caucus. A wrangle between the two rival forces developed, during which a Kindred supporter hit the chairman in the eye with his fist. This was only one of the many pleasantries of the campaign which won for the district its name, "the Bloody Fifth." Sleeper also tried to carry the town of Morris for Kindred. The crews of two Northern Pacific gravel trains, stationed nearby, were brought in, but since the men were not residents they were not permitted to vote. This caused a contest, with the result that both Kindred and Nelson delegations were elected in Stevens County. In Morrison County Kindred was unable to win and Gilman secured the delegation. Nevertheless when the Detroit convention opened, a Kindred delegation from this county was on hand. Kindred had no success, however, in his attempts to carry Stearns County, the home of Gilman.

The convention in Otter Tail County numbered one hundred delegates, eighty-five of whom were for Nelson. Fifteen were for Kindred, who commanded some votes in the Perham district. The eighty-five met at the courthouse in Fergus Falls at the appointed time and elected nine delegates to the Detroit convention: George W. Boyington, Moses E. Clapp, H. E. Rawson, B. N. Johnson, Jacob Austin, Amund Leverson, A. C. Hatch, John G. Nelson, and Charles D. Baker. It will be noted that Otter Tail County had five more delegates than any other county in the district. The Kindred faction — fifteen in number — met at the Occidental Hotel and elected a delegation of nine to Detroit, none of whom, according to the Nelson men, were representative Republicans of the county.[4] The

[4] The delegation was composed of Frank Geoghagan, T. R. Williams, David L. Wellman, Theodore Anderson, E. L. Thomas, A. Scribner, Barney Griffith, L. A. Paddock, and John Gung.

Kindred delegates based their claim for a contest on the ground that the call did not state in what hall or building the convention was to be held. At the meeting in the courthouse, called by the chairman of the Republican county committee, Charles D. Wright, practically all the prominent Republicans of the county gathered. They were the men who had controlled and supported the party up to that time and who controlled it afterwards.

Considerable light on the situation is cast by the following comment of the *Fergus Falls Journal* for June 12, 1882:

Fergus Falls and Otter Tail County have been in the last few days witnesses of scenes of political corruption and dishonor fully equal to anything of which we have ever read, and worse than anything we have ever before seen. In comparison with it, Bill King's "strumpet of corruption" campaign has become respectable.

Enough has been said in previous issues of this paper to show our appreciation of Kindred's tactics in endeavoring to procure a false expression of public sentiment in this and other counties. He established a camp of corrupt strikers here at Fergus Falls a week ago, under the lead and direction of Puhler, the Norman county thief, who busily employed their time in endeavors to buy up a following in this city. A large bank account was submitted to heavy drafts every day. The largest saloon in the place was chartered, Kindred himself arrived Wednesday night, and all day Thursday he held a levee in the saloon or interviewed citizens in their back offices and at his hotel. In spite of all this work and of large amounts of money paid to individuals, in amounts of from $10 to $100 each, the caucuses of Fergus Falls on Friday evening were unanimous for Knute Nelson — money and whiskey had not produced even a ripple on the strong current of political sentiment in this place. Men had taken Kindred's money and then voted against him.

Nelson was in Fergus Falls on June 10, and after the caucuses, the crowd serenaded him at his hotel, and he delivered the following brief address:

Friends and Fellow Citizens: Allow me to thank you for the honor you have done me by carrying the caucuses in my favor. This has been in many respects a very peculiar campaign. Never in the history of this state or any part of it, have such means and

methods been resorted to to carry any nomination as are being used against me. I have not felt as if I were fighting for Knute Nelson, or any other little Norwegian, but for a principle.

You deserve credit for standing so firm against the influences that have been brought to bear. The great principle is not what man is to go to congress, but whether the office is to be put up at auction and knocked off to the highest bidder. (applause) If they had attacked my ability and suitableness, I would not speak; there are many men in this district, aye, here in Fergus Falls, plenty of congressional material, as able as I, and if the campaign had been conducted in the usual spirit I would not complain, but it has been put upon a money basis, and it is your duty to put your foot down. The question is whether none but a millionaire can go to congress, or whether you will allow yourselves to be knocked down with a bag of gold. (applause) You have stood well to your guns. As soon as it was decided to hold the convention at Detroit, Kindred endeavored to engage all the hotel room in that town, so as to exclude me and my friends. These tactics have been carried on every where but here they have amounted to only a flash in the pan. If I am nominated and elected, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, I will endeavor to "do the right as God gives me to see the right." (applause.) [5]

The situation in Fergus Falls was similar to that in other counties and, as the various conventions were held, it became perfectly apparent that the congressional convention at Detroit would be a political gathering worth attending. It will be noticed that the first county convention in the district was held on June 1 at Ada in Norman County. The Otter Tail County convention was held on June 10. Not until July 12 did the district convention meet. This wide range in the time of holding the county conventions allowed unusual and undesirable practices to creep in. During the ante-convention campaign Kindred was always very good to the correspondents and newspaper reporters and as a result the dispatches and reports did not carry a correct description of the situation as it was developing throughout the district. Not until the Detroit con-

[5] The speech is printed in the *Fergus Falls Journal* for June 12, 1882. A few obvious misprints and errors in the newspaper report have been corrected.

vention had been held did the Republican organs of the state definitely take sides and declare editorially what policy the party ought to pursue. After the Detroit convention the *Daily Pioneer Press* of St. Paul, the *Tribune* of Minneapolis, and the *Duluth Tribune* came out strongly against the Kindred methods and were equally vigorous in their support of Nelson, using every available argument to further the latter's candidacy.

The congressional convention, to be made up of seventy-eight delegates, was called to meet at Detroit on July 12, 1882. Detroit was then a town of about fifteen hundred and its hotel and auditorium facilities were somewhat limited, hardly adequate for the regular delegates, not to speak of the contesting delegates and the crowd of spectators. The only hotel in the town which amounted to very much was run by an old soldier. A month before the convention Kindred had rented this entire hotel, but the landord had a fellow feeling for a comrade in arms and so he reserved one room for Nelson. When it became practically certain that two conventions would be held, the Nelson men secured a large circus tent for sleeping purposes — as they claimed — and had it erected immediately across from the hall where the convention was to be held. Large numbers of people came to Detroit for the convention. Kindred believed in music and so he had two bands on hand, one from Fargo and the other from Brainerd. Fearing a disturbance, he also brought a considerable number of special policemen from the same cities, and the adherents of Nelson were unkind enough to brand them as thugs. In any event they were there "to maintain order."

On July 11 the district committee met to plan a *modus vivendi* for the organization of the convention. Colonel Johnston, the chairman of the committee, claimed that he favored Nelson, but it was known by all that he was supporting Kindred. The committee failed to accomplish anything and consequently adjourned until the next morning at eight o'clock. On the morning of the twelfth the Kindred members of the

committee failed to appear and much time was spent in trying to assemble the committee. Finally it convened and a resolution embodying the names of the duly-elected delegates to the convention was offered. In this list the names of Kindred men appeared only for the Kindred counties. Colonel Johnston refused to put the resolution to a vote and announced that he would be governed by no instructions. Comstock, a member of the committee, then called for a vote, and the resolution was carried five to three. Colonel Johnston defied the committee, announcing that he would organize a convention according to his own ideas, whereupon the committee, adopting the only course left to it, deposed Johnston from the chairmanship by a vote of five to four and elected Barto in his stead.[6] The deposition of Johnston made it apparent that there was going to be a lively row over the control of the convention hall. There was a rush to get possession of it and, although a large number of Kindred's special police were on guard, a good many of the Nelson men gained admittance.[7] As Kindred had practically a full complement of contesting delegates, he had enough to make a full-sized convention of his own.

Barto, the new committee chairman, was a very fleshy man with a big heart and a large stomach, kindly in disposition, but

[6] The question whether or not a committee had the right to depose a chairman in this manner was warmly discussed in the ensuing campaign. James G. Blaine, to whom the matter was referred, decided that a committee could remove the chairman. The editor of the *Tribune* of Minneapolis, General A. Bayard Nettleton, submitted the question to Edward McPherson, the parliamentarian of the national House of Representatives. McPherson's views coincided with those of Blaine. Senator Sumner had been removed as chairman of the Senate committee on foreign affairs because he refused to obey the committee's instructions, and Senator Cameron was elected in his place. Schuyler Colfax, speaker of the national House of Representatives and vice president under Grant, also supported the right of the committee to remove its chairman.

[7] According to Harlan P. Hall the "Kindred men, to guard against accidents, had smuggled a force into the hall at 11 a. m., and they had lunch sent in and camped there. When the Nelson men marched in a body from the tent to the hall they were astonished to find all the front seats occupied." Hall, *Observations: Being More or Less a History of Political Contests in Minnesota from 1849 to 1904*, 287 (St. Paul, 1904).

a little easy and a bit groggy when it came to unusual activity in getting possession of a platform. When the delegates convened, Johnston and Barto both appeared on the platform. Each called for nominations for chairman of the convention. Neither stopped to read the call. One of the Nelson men nominated Comstock and Barto put the motion. At the same time one of the Kindred faction named Elon G. Holmes of Detroit for chairman and Johnston put this motion. Everybody voted aye, and thus both Holmes and Comstock were elected chairman.[8] Both went to the stage and attempted to proceed with the convention's business, but from that time on pandemonium ruled.

Johnston announced that he had hired the hall in his own name and not on behalf of the committee. He therefore demanded that the Nelson men who were disturbing the convention should be put out of the hall. Comstock attempted to keep his position and Holmes ordered his arrest. The sheriff of Becker County made certain maneuvers and Comstock announced, "I yield to the majesty of the law." "The Nelson men," as Holmes puts it, "then withdrew to the tent which they had already prepared as their meeting place."

Harlan P. Hall, editor of the *St. Paul Globe,* which at that time was the Democratic organ of the state and a newspaper which always printed the things which the Republicans did not want printed but which the people liked to read, was present to report the convention. In his *Observations,* written some twenty years later, Hall said of this collision, known as the "duel convention":

> Every one seemed to be yelling at the same time. Holmes and Comstock stood side by side and their respective adherents would rush to the front and make motions which the chairman would declare carried. After about five minutes of this scene, ex-

[8] One report states that when Comstock was elected chairman, Soren Listoe of Fergus Falls, who was a Kindred supporter, called out to Kindred, who stood outside a window of the hall, "Comstock has been made chairman"; and an affidavit has been made that Kindred called back, "Clean him out and recognize but one chairman."

Sheriff Mertz, of Brainerd, a very resolute man and a warm friend of Kindred, jumped on the platform and, grabbing Comstock, tried to pull him off, saying, "You have no business here." It was scarcely a second before 30 or 40 men were on the stage to aid Comstock and Mertz respectively, and they were a good deal hustled about. Comstock stood his ground well and resisted being dragged off the platform, but did not strike a blow. The crowd had overturned the reporters' table and we had mounted an extemporized table to get a view of the fight. As the excitement was at its highest, crash went our table and we were all tumbled promiscuously to the floor. I believe that little accident was providential. It made a laugh, and laughter and anger are not close friends. It also diverted attention for a moment and by the time we had picked ourselves up from the floor, the sheriff, with 10 or 12 deputies, was on the platform commanding the peace and hustling men off the stage. . . . Johnson finally shouted an order to clear the stage of every one but the committee and the reporters. That would have removed both Holmes and Comstock. He said he had hired the hall and would have it cleared. On this announcement a Nelson man shouted: "I move the convention adjourn to the tent on the prairie." Comstock put the motion and declared it carried. . . . H. L. Gordon, of Minneapolis (not a delegate or even a resident of the district) mounted a chair and urged the Nelson, Graves and Gilman men to leave. A deputy sheriff grabbed him and escorted him to the door as a disturber of the peace.[9]

Comstock carried his right to be chairman to the tent and took charge of the Nelson convention. As neither chairs nor tables were available, it was a case of standing room only. The district committee had acted as a committee on credentials and the delegates named by them were given seats, but not chairs. There were representatives from twenty counties, leaving the eight counties which were unquestionably for Kindred unrepresented. A platform was adopted which breathed loyalty to the party and its principles and denounced Kindred. Halvor Steenerson of Crookston then nominated Knute Nelson, Colonel Daniel G. Cash presented the name of Colonel Graves, and Barto nominated Gilman. Graves and Gilman had remained in the race thinking that Nelson and Kindred

[9] Hall, *Observations,* 288–290.

would so divide the delegates that a third man would be a necessity, but they had allied themselves with the Nelson wing. In the balloting Nelson received forty-four votes, Graves seven, and Gilman ten. Nelson was accordingly declared the nominee of the convention and made a speech of acceptance. Gilman, Graves, Hanford L. Gordon, and Albert Scheffer made ratification speeches, and the Nelson campaign was launched.

While Nelson was being nominated in the tent, the Kindred men were taking action in the hall. As Nelson's supporters were withdrawing from the hall, Holmes announced that the only regular convention would be in the hall, but no Nelson man halted. Colonel Sleeper nominated Kindred in a glowing speech and no other name was presented. The roll call gave him sixty-four votes, and he was declared the nominee. After both conventions were over, Nelson, in company with "Thundering" Gordon, called on Kindred at the latter's hotel, but the call was only formal, and after a few pleasantries they separated and the battle was renewed.

That evening was a lively one and a wild one in Detroit. The Volstead Act had not been passed and Detroit had always been wet. Kindred's brass bands paraded about the town with Kindred and Colonel Sleeper riding in a hack at the head of the procession. The women of Detroit, realizing that the crowd would have to be fed and desiring to make a little money for the cleaning up of the cemetery, held a supper, and it is said that Kindred, with his usual generosity, contributed one hundred dollars to the fund.

After the Detroit convention, there was a great deal of speculation as to what the Democrats in the district would do. The Democrats were never very strong in the Fifth Congressional District outside of Stearns County, the voters of which were so addicted to voting the Democratic ticket that they often voted against a Democrat if he was not properly labeled. The Kindred men were anxious that there should be no Democratic congressional candidate, for they expected the Democrats to vote for their candidate, who had received much Democratic support for his convention. The Nelson adherents,

while somewhat indifferent, preferred that a Democratic candidate should be put in the field. In any event a Democratic congressional convention was held at Fergus Falls on September 6. Colin F. Macdonald of St. Cloud presided. After the preliminaries, Sheriff M. Mickley of Stearns County nominated Edward P. Barnum of Sauk Center. Other names offered were Robert Miller of Otter Tail and R. C. Moore of Stevens. An informal ballot gave Barnum fifty out of eighty-eight votes. He was declared nominated and all efforts on the part of Kindred to get him out of the field were useless.

After the Detroit convention the two factions had become so embittered that there was no such thing as harmonizing them. The contest could only be settled at the polls. Much effort was expended in attempting to show which was the regular nominee. The first six weeks after the Detroit convention were spent in organizing and in preparing campaign materials, and thereupon the speech-making campaign began.

A Nelson campaign manual of about fifty pages, prepared by Gordon, a well-known political character and an able writer, was the most important political document of the campaign. It told the full details of Kindred's connection with the Northern Pacific Railway and its lands, and the history of his efforts to control the different county conventions. It also included an account of the Detroit convention and presented the opinions of parliamentarians regarding the regularity of the convention. The document was signed by Gilman, who, as chairman of the congressional committee, conducted the Nelson campaign.[10] The Kindred forces got out a printed sheet containing various charges against Nelson which was supplied to speakers and newspapers. It charged Nelson with party irregularity, claim jumping, drunkenness, licentiousness, and other faults. In reply to the charge that Nelson had jumped the claim of a man when he came to Alexandria his friends

[10] *An Address to the Voters of the Fifth Congressional District of Minnesota* (46 p.). Twenty-five thousand copies of this pamphlet were printed, but only two are now known to be in existence, one of which has been presented to the Minnesota Historical Society by Senator Nelson.

showed the contract by which he purchased and paid for a relinquishment of the land. They also sent to Wisconsin and got the proofs that he had not bolted a convention as was claimed. It is related that Judge John W. Willis of St. Paul, one of the leading Democratic orators of the state, spoke at Fergus Falls, and in his address he would first pick up the Kindred document and read about Nelson and then he would pick up the Nelson document and read about Kindred and, at frequent intervals, he would remark, "I don't know anything about either of the candidates but, if what they say about each other is true, then you ought to vote for Barnum, the Democratic candidate." [11]

Kindred could not get the support of as many newspapers as he desired and so he started three or four papers, one or two of them in the Norwegian language. It was at Kindred's instance, for example, that the *Fergus Falls Daily Telegram* was started, under the direction of H. P. Hall of the *St. Paul Globe.*

Although there were many speakers on the stump, Mr. Nelson carried the brunt of the campaign. He spoke in almost

[11] A circular printed in a Norwegian printing office in Fergus Falls and widely circulated sarcastically suggests the following reasons why Knute Nelson should be supported for Congress:

He is employed to drive the poor settlers off their lands after they have made valuable improvements on them.
He is the attorney for the Millers' association of Minneapolis, and through that corporation robs every wheat farmer of a portion of his crop when he brings it to market.
He stood on the fence when the bill came up in the legislature to extend the St. Paul and Pacific railroad through Otter Tail and Douglas counties until several thousand acres of land were transferred to him.
He has agreed to change his residence to Fergus in return for the support of the Fergus voters.
He is buying his way to congress, using more money and in the most corrupt manner ever known in American politics.
He is an infidel!
He don't believe in God!!
He don't keep his promises to man.
He is not an American!!
He persecutes church people.
He threatens to disrupt the republican party by running independently in case he cannot buy or bulldoze a regular nomination.

A copy of this circular has been presented to the Minnesota Historical Society by Senator Nelson.

every county of the great district, an arduous undertaking when one recalls the lack of transportation facilities in those days. He held his first meeting of the campaign on October 2 at Thomson, a village near Duluth. The gathering was held in a schoolhouse and, while he was speaking from the teacher's platform with the usual blackboard behind it, someone threw an egg at him, but Nelson quickly dodged it and it splashed against the blackboard. At a hall where Nelson spoke in Verndale, Wadena County, a trap had been made in the middle of the speaker's platform by the sawing out of the supports, so that when Nelson stepped upon that particular spot he would disappear underneath the platform. There was a big Norwegian lumberjack by the name of Hendrickson in the town who had been working with Clarence E. Bullard, who was making the arrangements. Before the meeting began, Hendrickson's Norwegian blood got the better of him and he told Bullard that if he allowed Nelson to step on the trap and go through it, he would thrash him within an inch of his life. This made such an impression on Bullard that he told Nelson to avoid stepping on a certain weak portion of the platform, and the meeting was conducted without disturbance. Such incidents show the character of the campaigning in those days. One Nelson meeting was held in Brainerd, Kindred's own stronghold. Nelson and thirty or forty of his supporters appeared on the platform before an audience composed entirely of Kindred adherents. Of the men on the platform Nelson was the only one who did not carry a gun. He said he had never carried one since the Civil War.

As the campaign progressed it became reasonably certain that Nelson would win. He had the support of all the candidates who had opposed him at Detroit save Kindred. He spoke in all the principal towns between St. Vincent and Duluth, arousing great enthusiasm in some places and bitterness in others. During the campaign there was widespread interest in Nelson's personality and a number of incidents which aroused the sympathy and support of the people were brought to light. A farmer wrote to the *Fergus Falls Journal:*

In the winter of '63 the 4th Wisconsin cavalry was stationed at Baton Rouge, La. I was a member of Co. G and Knute Nelson was a member of Co. B, and by his frank, manly, and fearless bearing so won the good will of all that he became a general favorite with officers and soldiers. One evening at "water call," as I was going to the river to water my horse, I saw a soldier of Co. E snatch a paper from a newsboy and gallop towards camp. Knute Nelson happened to be passing close by and hastily *paying the boy for the paper,* he started off on a gallop, overtook the Co. E. man and demanded the paper as his property. Nelson was hardly more than a boy at the time and I expected he would get into trouble as the other was a very rough fellow, but Nelson's fearless manner so cowed him that he gave up the paper and submitted to a lecture that ought to have made him a wiser and better man. The incident impressed me strongly at the time as showing the stuff the Norwegian boy was made of, and it would take a great deal to make me believe that Knute Nelson would stoop to trickery or double dealing. Let me say just here that I have not seen Mr. Nelson since the war, and have no interest in his election further than all should feel in seeing honest men elected to our national legislature.[12]

This is an example of many incidents which tended to popularize the "little Norwegian" with the people of his district.[13] Generous as was Kindred, nothing that his adherents could do or say for him endeared him to the people or aroused that kindly feeling which Nelson enjoyed.

While Kindred was spending his money by the thousands there was undoubtedly the utmost poverty in the Nelson camp and Nelson himself says that he was even short of funds for the necessary expenses of the campaign. The writer found among some correspondence between Nelson and several residents of Ada, Norman County, a letter and a reply which throw light on the situation in the Nelson camp. Alexander Running of Ada had engaged Knute Sandvig to render some

[12] The writer of this letter, which is published in the issue of the *Journal* for September 14, 1882, was S. V. Beebe, who resided in St. Olaf township, Otter Tail County.

[13] The phrase "little Norwegian" was first used by Kindred. The adherents of Nelson made capital out of the sneer, pointing out that Nelson was "American in heart and interest," and that he "fought for the land of his adoption."

service for Nelson. The money to pay Sandvig was very slow in arriving and the latter wrote a letter to Nelson urgently requesting payment. Nelson explained in his reply that as soon as he returned to his home after the Detroit convention he attempted to raise money to meet the bills which had been incurred. "I am now glad to say," he writes, "by reason of the sale of a piece of land yesterday, I am able to send the money to Mr. Running which I hope he has received by this time. . . . I regret that my means are so limited that I could not pay on a moment's notice but I feel conscious of doing the best, the very best I could." The total amount of Running's bill, including the Sandvig and other items, was $98.40. Senator Nelson states himself that it is his opinion that not more than five thousand dollars was spent by the committee and by all others in behalf of his candidacy. A tremendous amount of effort, energy, and good will was put into the contest gratuitously by those who were friendly to Nelson and who were angered by the crude methods used by Kindred and his adherents.

Governor Lucius F. Hubbard was prevailed upon by Kindred's legal advisor, Cushman K. Davis, to establish some voting precincts in the pineries north of Aitkin and Grand Rapids. This caused the Nelson people to fear that there would be illegal voting in these localities, in as much as election regulations were crude. There was no adequate registration nor were there any regular forms of ballots. The lumber precincts were recognized as Kindred precincts and the returns were delayed for several days. In order to circumvent possible frauds, C. A. Gilman of St. Cloud, Alfred B. Brackett of St. Paul, and Ole Amundson of Evansville, went north to the pineries to watch the returns. It was charged that the Kindred men were holding back these returns until they could learn how large a majority they had to overcome in the counties to the south. As returns, even in the older settlements, came in slowly, this naturally meant delay. When the returns did come in, however, the majority for Nelson was so large that the Kindred forces gave up the struggle. They realized that

they could not secure from the pine precincts a large enough vote to overcome the majority in the district as a whole. When the returns from Itasca County finally came in they stood: Nelson, 2; Barnum, 8; Kindred, 683. The final vote for the district gave Nelson a majority of 4,718 over Kindred. The results were: Nelson, 16,956; Kindred, 12,238; and Barnum, 6,248. All the western counties were carried by Nelson. Barnum carried Stearns County. Kindred had majorities in Mille Lacs, Morrison, Wadena, Crow Wing, Aitkin, Carlton, Cass, and Itasca counties.

No national issues had played important parts in the campaign. Some reference was made to the tariff issue, but practically all the time was taken up in discussing the quarrel between the two factions. When the contest was over no issue had been settled except that the people of Minnesota would not knowingly allow anyone to buy his way into the halls of Congress. The career of Kindred was terminated so far as Minnesota was concerned and the door of opportunity was opened to Knute Nelson, whose public service to the state as congressman, governor, and senator was to span almost a half century.[14]

ELMER E. ADAMS

FERGUS FALLS, MINNESOTA

[14] It is of historical interest to note that Kindred died recently in Philadelphia. Senator Nelson, Mr. Comstock, Mr. Holmes, Mr. Gilman, and Colonel Graves, all of whom were prominent during the campaign, are alive today, and the writer has been in communication with them in connection with the preparation of this paper. Several important documents received by the writer from Senator Nelson have been presented to the Minnesota Historical Society. Of these the most interesting is, perhaps, a memorandum book kept by Mr. Nelson during the campaign, containing miscellaneous notes and jottings and an "epitome of speech" which apparently was the basis of many of the speeches delivered by the candidate between October 1 and November 6, 1882. An accompanying paper lists the places — thirty in all — at which Mr. Nelson spoke. A series of important letters in his correspondence with Alexander Running of Ada throws light on the financial difficulties encountered by Mr. Nelson. Another item of interest is a copy for November 2, 1882, of *Tiden*, a Kindred organ published in the Norwegian language at Fergus Falls.

THE 1923 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The seventy-fourth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society on January 15 followed the general plan of last year's meeting, with morning, afternoon, and evening sessions at which papers were read and discussions held on various subjects in the field of Minnesota history. The unusually large attendance at these sessions is an indorsement of the plan initiated in 1921 and is one of numerous recent indications of the growing popular interest in the history of the state.

A notable attendance from outside the Twin Cities contributed in no small measure to the success of the meeting. Among the fifty persons who were present at the opening session, which was devoted to the third annual conference on local history work in Minnesota, were representatives of local history interests in Blue Earth, Chisago, Hennepin, Kandiyohi, Ramsey, Red Lake, Redwood, Renville, Rice, St. Louis, and Yellow Medicine counties. This conference, which was held at 10:00 A. M. in the auditorium of the society's building, opened with a discussion on the subject of "State Parks and Memorials in Relation to Local History Interest," led by Mr. Ray P. Chase, state auditor. Mr. Chase first pointed out that most of the state parks and memorial sites in Minnesota are at present under the supervision of a fiscal officer, the state auditor, who is ex officio land commissioner. Although the state already has expended approximately eight hundred thousand dollars for the purchase and maintenance of its parks and historic places, no real system has been worked out and adopted for their administration. The setting aside of natural beauty spots for the pleasure and recreation of the people and the adequate marking and preservation of historic sites are matters which, if they are worth doing at all, merit careful planning and expert, centralized administration. After calling

attention to the methods employed in caring for state parks in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, and Pennsylvania, and nearer home in Wisconsin and Iowa, Mr. Chase urged the desirability of locating state parks in accordance with some definite plan, of standardizing their equipment, and of administering them uniformly. He asserted that a program is needed which will anticipate the future growth of Minnesota. In order that such a program may be prepared, it is necessary "to place the administration of all state-owned parks, camp sites, playgrounds, monuments and monument sites, and state-owned points of historical interest or value under the immediate supervision of an expert commission or commissioner."

Mr. Chase exhibited a large map of Minnesota on which were shown the locations of the present state parks and monuments and also of certain proposed state parks. He said that the important factors to be considered in the selection of sites are natural beauty, historic interest, and accessibility. In conclusion he called special attention to certain sections of the state which in his opinion deserve to be represented in a comprehensive state park system. Members of the Minnesota Historical Society will be interested in learning that Mr. Chase earnestly recommended the establishment of a state park which will include the historic Grand Portage region. Numerous other available sites were suggested, in the vicinity of Pipestone, Lake Shetek, St. Cloud, Leech Lake, Twin Lakes, Albert Lea, Fairmont, Okabena, Blue Mound, Mille Lacs, Lake Benton, Camden Hills, Ortonville, Waconia, Lake Bemidji, and Fergus Falls.[1]

Mr. William E. Stoopes of the Minnesota Highway Department, who followed Mr. Chase in the discussion, emphasized the importance of parks in relation to the vast number of tourists who visit the state during the summer months. The absence of parks and camp sites along the main trunk highways

[1] In Mr. Chase's valuable *Statement to the Nineteen Hundred Twenty-three Legislature* on state parks and memorials, the points which he made in the discussion summarized above are carefully elaborated. See *post*, p. 137.

was suggested as one of the principal defects in the present system. After explaining some of the practical problems connected with the equipment of state parks, with special reference to the tourist traffic, the speaker showed how the highway department would be able effectively to coöperate with the officials placed in charge of the park system.

To abandon the state parks or to fail adequately to meet the demands of the present situation would be a backward step which all would regret for "years and years to come," in the opinion of Mr. Charles H. Ramsdell of Minneapolis, who continued the discussion. He emphatically indorsed the position taken by the state auditor and stressed the need of saving for the state its important historic sites. He expressed the belief that if the people of the state could be thoroughly interested in the project for an improved state park system, they would not hesitate to give it their hearty support, and thus Minnesota would be able to develop a plan of administration comparable with the plans followed in Wisconsin and in the eastern states.

Mr. Carlos Avery, state game and fish commissioner, spoke next, telling of the administration of Sibley State Park, which is under his supervision, and advocating a "well-defined, intelligent policy for the control of state parks." Mr. Avery urged the segregation of certain areas before the inflow of settlement, especially in the virgin region of northern Minnesota. To undertake such work before private interests place these lands beyond the reach of the public is a proper function for a state park commission.

At the close of this informing and suggestive discussion, the following resolution, moved by Mr. Frank Hopkins of Fairfax and seconded by Mr. Hiram M. Hitchcock of Redwood Falls, was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That the state of Minnesota ought to establish, and more completely develop and superintend, a system of state parks, monument sites, and tourist camping grounds;

RESOLVED, That this should be done by means of a commissioner or commission of one or more existing state officials or

otherwise, and that a careful survey should be made in order to reveal the facts essential to the formation of an effective policy in relation to state parks and memorials; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be presented to the respective committees on state parks in the Senate and the House of the state legislature now in session.

The next discussion, on "The Organization of Local History Activities and Their Relation to the State Society," was led by Mr. William E. Culkin, president of the recently organized St. Louis County Historical Society. Mr. Culkin strongly advocated the organization of local historical societies in all the counties of Minnesota. He declared that historical interest is deeply rooted in civilized people, and that in fact he had "never met a man or woman worth while who does not love historical subjects." The organizers of local history activities are, therefore, certain to secure a considerable measure of support from the people if they proceed properly. The speaker asserted that similar methods of organization are not necessary or even desirable in all the counties. In his opinion, however, every local society ought to have intimate relations with the state society. He suggested that the latter organization might appoint a "corresponding secretary in each county," who would act as a "sort of historical registrar" for the community. The important thing is that the Minnesota Historical Society should coöperate with local history leaders in effecting a definite organization. Mr. Culkin then described in some detail the organization of the St. Louis County Historical Society, the main features of which were mentioned in the BULLETIN for February. In concluding his remarks, the speaker expressed the hope that at some future time "local historical societies from all parts of the North Star State" would meet in joint conference at the building of the state society.

Mr. Victor E. Lawson of Willmar then described briefly the work of the Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association, which was established in 1894. This society has a very large

membership of men and women who represent many different religious and political groups but are united by the common bond of historical interest. Kandiyohi County was the scene of many important events connected with the Sioux Outbreak, and "a vast quantity of Indian stories have been told and retold" at the meetings of the local society. Eventually a resolution was passed to put them into permanent form, a task which was entrusted to Mr. Lawson. Another interesting type of local history work was suggested by the speaker's concluding remark: "At every annual meeting we mark some historic site in Kandiyohi County."

The superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, who presided at the conference, called attention to the attempt which is being made to publish in each issue of the quarterly magazine of the state society accounts of local history activities throughout the state. The BULLETIN serves thus as a clearing house for ideas in this field, but its usefulness can be increased greatly if those who are in touch with the work will convey to the society information concerning local history activities.

At the close of the discussion, the following resolution, also moved by Mr. Hopkins, was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That the various old settlers' and pioneer organizations of Minnesota be urged to establish "historical departments," with officials in charge, with a view to the collection and preservation of local historical data;

RESOLVED, That local organizations be urged to communicate information to the Minnesota Historical Society in regard to historical documents and data of state interest which merit permanent preservation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the organization of county historical societies in Minnesota be recommended wherever such organization appears to be practicable.

At 12:30 P. M. approximately ninety members and friends of the society attended a luncheon at the St. Paul Athletic Club "to celebrate the enrollment of one thousand active mem-

bers." After the luncheon was served the superintendent spoke briefly about the membership campaign. The achievement of a membership which is more than double that of two years ago is unmistakable proof that the people of the state are "reaching the point where they have a greater interest in the past of their community than they ever had before." The population of the state is so large, however, that one is justified in expecting a very considerable increase above the present number of members. The historical society, which was incorporated in October, 1849, by the first territorial legislature, will celebrate its seventy-fifth anniversary in 1924, and that occasion "ought to be marked in some appropriate way." Mr. Buck proposed as a suitable slogan for the coming year, "two thousand members by the seventy-fifth anniversary," and announced that the first payment of dues by new members would cover the balance of the present and all of the next fiscal year. He declared that the Minnesota Historical Society, in cultivating the field of state history, is doing a work which is of direct interest to all citizens, to people in all walks of life, and that the society's membership by no means should be limited to those whose memories run back to the pioneer period.

The superintendent then introduced Mr. Elmer E. Adams of Fergus Falls, who acted as toastmaster for the program of informal talks which followed. Mr. Adams called attention to a recent newspaper editorial on "The Historical Society" in which the following vigorous indorsement appeared: "The society has just completed a successful campaign to increase its membership from 556, where it stood in October, 1921, to 1,000. This goal has been reached with so little difficulty that the society has decided not to stop there, but to conduct a new campaign to double the present membership. This project of the society deserves all the support which can be mustered to it in the state. The effort of the society to extend its influence should not be relaxed until it has a substantial membership in every county." The editorial went on to urge the enrollment of "at least 10,000" members in order that full justice may

be done "the state by the organization," and "the organization by the state." [2]

Mr. H. M. Hitchcock was then called upon to describe the campaign for membership which is being conducted in the Minnesota Valley. He spoke of the approaching centenary of the exploring expedition which visited the valley in 1823 under the leadership of Major Stephen H. Long. An anniversary tour of the Sioux Historic Trail and the holding of the next summer meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society in Redwood Falls would be especially appropriate, he said, in view of this centenary. The publications of the historical society, and particularly the forthcoming second volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota* — with its promised account of the Sioux Outbreak — have great interest for the people who live in the historic Minnesota Valley region and are powerful inducements to membership in the society. Active coöperation has been secured from editors, who are helping to arouse historical interest by publishing timely historical articles in the columns of their newspapers.

The assistant superintendent, Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, called attention to the traveling exhibit which the society has prepared and which has since been sent to Redwood Falls. The object of this exhibit is to represent as clearly as possible the main activities of the society. With reference to the proposed campaign, the speaker said that the attainment of a large membership is a distinctly secondary aim. The primary object of the society is to arouse historical interest throughout the state and thus to secure a better understanding among the people of the functions of the historical society and, consequently, more general support and coöperation. Where interest and activity are thus stimulated, "historical-mindedness" develops, a genuine desideratum in all communities.

The toastmaster then introduced Dean Guy Stanton Ford of the University of Minnesota, who emphasized the challenge

[2] *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* January 7, 1923. The society has had this editorial reprinted and it is now available for distribution as a small leaflet.

in the date of the society's organization. If the young and vigorous men who came to Minnesota to lay the foundations of the commonwealth were ready to turn aside from their pressing tasks in 1849 in order to organize an historical society, said Mr. Ford, it is only fitting that their heirs and beneficiaries today should take up the challenge and give hearty support to the state in its efforts to preserve its records and to foster the development of the society as a great institution of public service.

Mr. Clifford L. Hilton, attorney-general of the state, expressed his appreciation of the vast collection of records which the society possesses and pointed out that its value to the people of Minnesota will tend constantly to increase. He asserted that the society's membership would rapidly increase if the present members would undertake to make others more familiar with the institution and its work.

Representative Theodore Christianson of Dawson declared that there is great intrinsic interest in the early history of the state. The pioneer period was one in which character and individuality, under the stress of the frontier environment, were strongly marked. The spirit of the frontiersman and his times, somewhat elusive in formal documents, may be caught in some of the stories which have come down from the early days. Mr. Christianson then told in happy vein a typical humorous pioneer story, and suggested that a real historical service might be rendered through the collection and publication of such materials for an understanding of Minnesota's past.

Other speakers upon whom the toastmaster called for brief responses and who contributed to the pleasure and success of the meeting were Mr. Samuel Lord, chairman of the Minnesota Tax Commission; Mr. Francis A. Duxbury, chairman of the Industrial Commission of Minnesota; and Mr. Benjamin F. Beardsley, who has been conspicuously active in the society's membership campaign.

The afternoon session, which convened in the Historical Building at 3:00 P. M. and which was attended by about 140

persons, was devoted to the reading of three historical papers. The first of these was Mr. Adams' interesting study in Minnesota political history which is published in the present number of the BULLETIN.

The second paper, on "James Dickson, A Filibuster in Minnesota in 1836," was read by Miss Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society. When a filibuster is mentioned in connection with American history one's thoughts instinctively turn southward, but original records which have been examined by Miss Nute prove that in 1836 a filibustering expedition began along the northern boundary of the United States and penetrated the northern part of the present area of Minnesota. Of the leader of this expedition, James Dickson, little is known, according to Miss Nute. He may have been Scotch, or English, or possibly the half-breed son of the famous Robert Dickson. That he had lived in Mexico for some time and had fought for the Texan cause is certain. In the winter of 1835–36 he appeared in Washington and, calling himself "General Dickson of the Indian Liberating Army" and "Montezuma II," endeavored to raise an army to help the Texans.

This venture proved unsuccessful, and Dickson next established relations with some Canadian half-breeds of Montreal whom he met at Buffalo in the summer of 1836. Here he chartered a small schooner and with sixty followers sailed for Sault Ste. Marie and Lake Superior. Dickson declared that his purpose was to recruit a hundred or two hundred half-breeds at the Red River colony and then to lead them to Santa Fé by way of the Missouri and its tributaries. After plundering this town he would fall back on California, wrest that province from its Mexican owners, and set up an Indian kingdom with himself as its monarch. To this state he expected all the prairie and mountain Indians to flock and also the tribes about to be removed by the United States government. No whites would be permitted in the proposed realm save a few officeholders. Such was Dickson's own explanation of his plans.

At Detroit the members of the party were arrested on a charge of piracy, but a retired army officer who was acquainted with Dickson interceded in their behalf and secured their release. Since they were unable to get their schooner into Lake Superior, the adventurers continued their trip in an old batteau, skirting the southern shore of the lake to Fond du Lac. Here they were given canoes and a guide by the officers of the American Fur Company's post, and thus equipped they made their way to Sandy Lake by the St. Louis portage route. Thence their journey took them up the Mississippi to Lake Winnebagoshish and on to Red Lake. By this time streams and lakes were frozen and the remainder of the trip was made on foot, with dog teams hauling the baggage.

The party's luck changed after the departure from Red Lake. First the guides deserted; then part of the company turned back; soon a snowstorm obliterated the wagon trail which they were following; an Indian led them away from the route which they should have taken; and finally the weather became exceedingly cold and the men froze faces, hands, and feet. They pressed on, however, and after three months of hardship reached Pembina, one of the Red River settlements. Miss Nute said that correspondence which is now preserved in archives in England indicates that the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company were greatly worried about the Dickson expedition, fearing that the filibusters would plunder the settlements. These officials did all in their power to thwart Dickson's plans, and he failed to secure his half-breed recruits. Whether he actually planned to oust the company from the region is not known, but that he entertained such a scheme is not unlikely, in Miss Nute's opinion.

Two of Dickson's officers and some of the privates were induced to enter the service of the fur company. Four of his men, including Martin McLeod and a guide, Pierre Bottineau, started for what is now St. Paul, intending to go on to St. Louis and there find employment. A blizzard overtook this party on the prairie some seventy miles from Lake Traverse

and only McLeod and the guide survived. Two members of the Dickson expedition, Martin McLeod and Alexander R. McLeod, Jr., became well-known figures in Minnesota history. Dickson disappeared from the scene as suddenly as he came. His last letter stated that he was on his way to Texas. In an earlier letter, however, he wrote that he expected to go to the Pacific coast. Perhaps he perished on his way to one of these remote regions; certainly he lapsed into the obscurity from which he had originally emerged. Thus came to an end this curious and hitherto unknown chapter in Minnesota and western history. In preparing her paper Miss Nute used the diary of Martin McLeod and other interesting documents in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. These include letters written by Dickson, McLeod's commission as an officer in the "Army of the Liberator," the articles of war by which the company was to be guided, a list of the men who signed these articles, and a large placard in Spanish announcing to the Mexican Indians that Montezuma II was on his way to release them from slavery.[3]

Mr. Arthur T. Adams of Minneapolis then read a paper on "The Location of Radisson's 'Fort,' 1660," in which he contended that the spot where Radisson and Groseilliers in 1660 erected their "fort," and participated in a grand Indian celebration of the "feast of death," was in Kanabec County, Minnesota, on Spring Brook Hill, two miles south of Mora. That the two French explorers did penetrate into the interior of Minnesota in 1660 and did erect a "fort" and take part in an Indian council is not questioned by historians of this period, according to Mr. Adams. He therefore based his argument

[3] Some of the documents used by Miss Nute in the preparation of her paper were on exhibit in the manuscript room during the meeting. The paper was read at a meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society at Duluth on March 5 and also at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on March 29. An illustrated feature story based upon the article appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 1 and 8 under the title "When Montezuma II Plotted a World Empire in Minnesota." The original article will be published in full in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.*

on the language which Radisson himself used to describe the "fort" in his own account of the famous "western voyage" of 1659–60. An analysis of this description shows that six qualities, five of which are geographical, are ascribed to the region of the "fort." In brief, it was an Indian rendezvous located on a hill near a stream which flowed out of a lake and into a meadow, the hill in question being situated between the lake and the meadow.

In his investigation Mr. Adams took as his starting point Dr. Warren Upham's identification of the site as in the general vicinity of Knife Lake. He then blocked out an area comprising six contiguous counties in which he established the sites of all known Indian villages, camp grounds, and meeting places. Thereupon he addressed himself to the problem of eliminating from consideration all sites which did not meet the five-fold geographical qualifications of Radisson's description. Only one place stood the test which Mr. Adams applied and this was Spring Brook Hill near Mora. Charts and maps were presented by the speaker to illustrate the specific steps in the process of ratiocinative reasoning which led to this conclusion.

On this Minnesota hill, declared Mr. Adams, probably occurred that Indian council of 1660, the record of which is preserved in the quaint words of Radisson. No less than five hundred Indians of "eighten severall nations" foregathered, according to the seventeenth century account, and in the space of "two dayes" completed the building of a large "fort," which "might be seen afar off." The word "fort," Mr. Adams pointed out, probably was used by Radisson, not to signify a military enclosure, but rather a "gathering together of boughs or brush, and perhaps a crude form of stockade," as a protection against the elements.[4]

[4] An article based on Mr. Adams' paper is published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 14. Some of the maps prepared by the author in connection with his investigation and a picture of the supposed site appear with the article.

At the end of this program pictures of the Grand Portage region were exhibited on the screen by Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., curator of the society's museum, after which he explained the special Grand Portage exhibit in the Indian room of the museum.[5] The members and friends of the society were then conducted about the museum by guides.

The evening session, which included the formal business session of the society, was held at 8:00 P. M. in the west hall, the auditorium being too small to accommodate the audience of approximately 250. The minutes of the last annual meeting, on January 9, 1922, were read and approved, and the annual report of the treasurer was referred to the council. The superintendent then read his annual report, which consisted of a comprehensive survey of the society's activities during 1922 and a statement of the present needs of the society. The *Twenty-second Biennial Report,* which recently has been distributed to members, embodies the material contained in the annual reports for both 1921 and 1922.

The annual address was delivered by Dr. William W. Folwell, vice president of the society and president emeritus of the University of Minnesota, who took as his subject "The Struggle for the Admission of Minnesota to the Union." The deft characterizations, the scholarly analysis of a complicated situation, and the undercurrent of humor which marked the speaker's delineations of motives, made the address profoundly interesting to the large audience, and this interest was heightened by the vigor and charm of the speaker's delivery. The address was based upon the first chapter of the forthcoming second volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota.*

The speaker began by pointing out that the constitution of Minnesota, framed in 1857 by a process "irregular not to say scandalous," was ratified on October 13, 1857, by the overwhelming plurality of 30,055 to 571. The official canvass of the vote, which was not completed until December 17, confirmed the election of the Democratic candidate, Henry H.

[5] For a brief account of the Grand Portage exhibit see *ante,* p. 58.

Sibley, as the first governor of the state by the slender margin of 240 votes in a total of 35,340. Allegations of fraud were bandied by the party newspapers after the canvass, according to Dr. Folwell.

On December 2, 1857, the first state legislature, overwhelmingly Democratic in composition, assembled in accordance with a provision of the newly adopted state constitution. It was expected that an act admitting the state would be quickly passed in order to increase the Democratic majority in Congress. It was further anticipated that the act of admission would legitimate all the acts passed by the "ambiguous" state legislature before the legal expiration of the territorial government. The legislature proceeded, therefore, to "recognize" the territorial executive, Samuel Medary, as governor, and on December 19 elected Henry M. Rice and General James Shields as the first senators from Minnesota. Dr. Folwell devoted considerable attention to the active public career of General Shields.

The main body of the address dealt with the causes for the long delay of Minnesota's admission. The Minnesota constitution reached President Buchanan on January 6, 1858, and was submitted to the Senate on January 11 and at once referred to the committee on territories, the chairman of which was Stephen A. Douglas. The constitution, with a bill to admit Minnesota, was reported out on January 26. Not until May 11 was Minnesota admitted, however, and not until May 24, 1858, did the state officials who had been elected in the preceding October actually take the oath of office. Dr. Folwell quoted a southern senator who said, "If you admit Minnesota and exclude Kansas, the spirit of our revolutionary fathers is utterly extinct if the government can last for one short twelvemonth." In other words, southern senators and representatives desired that Kansas should be admitted with the Lecompton constitution before the case of any other applicant for statehood should be considered, "no matter if it did have the parliamentary right of way."

"The needless palaver over the admission of Minnesota covers nearly three hundred columns of the *Congressional Globe,* averaging nearly a thousand words each," said Dr. Folwell. The question as to how many representatives Minnesota should have occupied the Senate for nearly four days. The granting of the vote to aliens in Minnesota was the subject of a warm discussion in the House. Some opposition, like that of John Sherman, was based upon the charge that the constitution of Minnesota had been framed, not by a regular convention but by "two mobs," and that the election in October was "illegal and attended with fraud."

After the enactment of the English compromise on May 4, by which the final decision on the Kansas question was remitted to the people of that territory, the admission of Minnesota could not be delayed much longer, and on May 11 the state was admitted. The attitude of the waiting Minnesotans was expressed in the trenchant words which Dr. Folwell quoted from the inaugural message of Governor Sibley. Minnesota had been kept out of the Union for many months, said the state's first executive, "because it subserved the purposes of congressional politicians to allow her to remain suspended for an indefinite period, like the fabled coffin of the false prophet, between the heavens and the earth."

As "afterpieces to the comedy," Dr. Folwell described the case of William W. Kingsbury, who had been elected delegate from Minnesota Territory in October, 1857, and who declined to vacate his seat until he was summarily dismissed; and the case of Alpheus G. Fuller, who claimed to represent the excluded portion of Minnesota Territory and asked for admission as a delegate from the Territory of Dakota, the latter being identical with this excluded portion. Needless to say, he failed to get the seat.

Dr. Folwell closed his address by reviewing briefly the history of the first state legislature and its various acts, including the notorious "five million loan" amendment. After reassembling on June 2, 1858, this legislature devoted much of its

final labor to the engaging problem of using up an unexpended ten thousand dollars for legislative expenses. Appropriations for six thousand dollars for stationery and thirty-five hundred dollars for postage stamps solved this problem, a " culminating fiscal act which has had too many analogies in later and present days." The address as a whole exposed a situation in the late fifties which would startle those who conceive it to be the duty of the historian to glorify the past. But, " the story of the entrance of Minnesota into the Union, with its irregularities, procrastination, tricks, and blunders," said Dr. Folwell, " teaches the facility with which democracies may overcome such obstacles and reach their reasonable ends."

Following this address, the annual meeting came to a close with an informal reception for members of the society and their friends in the rooms of the museum. This delightful function was in charge of a committee of Minneapolis and St. Paul women consisting of Mrs. Charles E. Furness, Mrs. Charles W. Ames, Mrs. Charles P. Noyes, Mrs. Charles S. Pillsbury, Mrs. William G. Northup, Mrs. Frederick G. Ingersoll, Mrs. James H. Skinner, and Mrs. Roderic E. Daniel.

THE INFORMATION BUREAU

LAFAYETTE HOUGHTON BUNNELL

Dr. Kelley is preparing a paper on Lafayette Houghton Bunnell (1824–1903) to present to the Johns Hopkins Historical Society and is searching for data concerning Dr. Bunnell. Will you be so very kind as to give him any information which you may have?

I spent yesterday searching in the Congressional Library but while I found much biographical material relating to Minnesota Dr. Bunnell was literally conspicuous by his absence. Vol. 14 of your Collections gave a brief note of Dr. Bunnell and a most interesting reference to your Scrap-books, Vol. 28; would it be possible for the Society to lend its Scrap-book to Dr. Kelly, or could you furnish him with data from the book? Dr. Kelly particularly wants to obtain all possible information regarding Dr. Bunnell's connection with medicine; where did he receive his degree? Did he practice? M. D. is signed after his name in his books. Was he not surgeon in a Wisconsin regiment?

Please make your information as full as possible. Dr. Kelly's paper will be published later and will be a just recognition of a brave and interesting man.

Can you tell me who was the first physician in Winona? One writer gives Dr. Allen, another Dr. Cole.

HARRIET BLOGG, Baltimore, Maryland[1]

Lafayette Houghton Bunnell was born in Rochester, New York, in 1824. He was the son of Dr. Bradley Bunnell, who was born in New London, Connecticut, in 1771, and of Charlotte Houghton, who was born in Windsor, Vermont, in 1785. In 1833 Dr. Bunnell, who had visited Detroit in 1828, decided to locate in that city. He had been there but a short time, however, when he removed with his family to Saginaw. Again dissatisfied with the field for his profession, he returned to Detroit within a few months, leaving his family at Saginaw. In this frontier settlement Lafayette spent several years of his

[1] Miss Blogg is in charge of the library of Dr. Howard A. Kelly of Baltimore. Dr. Kelly's article has been published in the *Annals of Medical History* (vol. 3, no. 2) under the title "Lafayette Houghton Bunnell, M.D., Discoverer of the Yosemite." It also has been issued as a separate (16 p.). See *ante*, 4: 187.

boyhood. His playmates were young Chippewa Indians, from whom he quickly gained a knowledge of their language. Here he came in contact with fur-traders, whose stories caused young Bunnell to long for the life of the extreme frontier. A visit from his mother's cousin, Dr. Douglas Houghton, a member of the Schoolcraft expedition of 1832, served to intensify this longing. Later, in Detroit, the boy lived in the same hotel with Henry R. Schoolcraft, and here also he heard exciting tales of the upper Mississippi country from the Detroit Snellings.

Lafayette's parents, however, had other plans for the future of their son. When he was twelve years old he was sent to a classical school in Detroit, the Latin school of Mr. O'Brien. He soon left this to attend the "Bacon Select or High School." Here he made good progress, but his studies ended when his father met with financial reverses. Lafayette was forced to earn his own bread, and he found employment in the drug store of B. T. Le Britton. His employer sent him into Ohio, Kentucky, and Virginia to take orders and make collections. In 1840, much against his wishes, he was taken into his father's office to study medicine. For two years he attended private clinics and demonstrations and did some reading.

Then came the opportunity to enter the life of which he had been dreaming. His brother Willard, who had entered the fur trade in Wisconsin several years earlier, was in poor health and wished to move to the dry climate of the upper Mississippi. He sent for Lafayette to accompany him. The eighteen-year-old boy crossed the lakes and joined his brother at the mouth of the Menominee River; from here the brothers journeyed to Green Bay and thence followed the Fox and Wisconsin rivers to the Mississippi. They settled at Trempealeau, east of the river. Here Willard Bunnell resided until 1849, when he crossed the river and founded the town of Homer, slightly south of Winona.

In 1844 Lafayette helped to build the first house in Winona. It was probably in the same year that, becoming dissatisfied with frontier life, he returned to Detroit and resumed his medical studies in the office of Dr. Scoville, only to be interrupted by the outbreak of the Mexican War. Bunnell was appointed hospital steward of the First Michigan Volunteer Infantry. During the illness of the doctors, while the regiment was quartered in Cordova, Mexico, he had entire charge of the hospital and at the close of the war he had the medical charge of one battalion.

After the discovery of gold in California Bunnell went overland through Mexico to Mariposa. Soon after his arrival trouble arose with the Indians, and when the Mariposa Battalion was formed for defense against them, he became a member. In March, 1851, members of the battalion were attempting to find the village of the Yosemite Indians, which was known to be in a deep valley. Thus was discovered the Yosemite Valley, named upon Bunnell's suggestion for the Indian tribe which inhabited it. The name means "a full-grown grizzly bear." The Indians told the members of the party that they were the first white men who had ever entered the valley. Dr. Bunnell's book, the *Discovery of the Yosemite* (New York, 1880), is a history of this expedition.

Bunnell enlisted in the Union Army at the very outbreak of the Civil War. His military record, quoted from James M. Aubery's history of *The Thirty-sixth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry,* follows:

Enlisted April 18, 1861, at La Crosse, Wis.; appointed hospital steward July 22, 1861, and discharged May 9, 1862, as hospital steward by order of General McDowell. Above service in Company B, Second Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers.

Enlisted in Company B, Second Wisconsin Cavalry Volunteers, November 14, 1863, and discharged March 1, 1865, to accept commission as assistant-surgeon Thirty-sixth Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers.

Commissioned assistant-surgeon Thirty-sixth Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers February 21, 1865, to rank from same date;

mustered as such March 20, 1865; commissioned surgeon July 11, 1865, to rank from same date; mustered to date July 11, 1865, and mustered out with regiment, July 12, 1865.

Before he received his commission the degree of doctor of medicine had been conferred upon Bunnell by the La Crosse Medical College of La Crosse, Wisconsin, on October 20, 1864. His commission and his diploma are the most interesting items in the Bunnell Papers, which were presented to the Minnesota Historical Society in 1916 by Mr. James M. George of Winona.

At the close of the war Dr. Bunnell located at Homer and took possession of the land and buildings left by his brother, who died in August, 1861. The doctor resided in Homer during the remainder of his life. Here he practiced his profession to a limited extent, occasionally going as far as Winona to make medical calls.

In the district about his home Dr. Bunnell was well known as a writer of local history. He wrote the chapters on early settlement for a *History of Winona County* (Chicago, 1883). He also is the author of a volume entitled *Winona and Its Environs on the Mississippi in Ancient and Modern Days* (Winona, 1897). Both of these works contain some autobiographical material. An article on "Pioneer Doctors of Winona," in the *Winona Republican Herald* for June 30, 1917, includes a section on Dr. Bunnell. An obituary sketch, clipped from the *Winona Independent* of July 24, 1903, is in volume 28 of the society's scrapbooks.

The question of Winona's first doctor is discussed in a *History of Winona County* by Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge and William J. Whipple (Chicago, 1913). According to these authors Dr. Allen, of whom very little is known, arrived in 1853 and is supposed to have been the first man to practice medicine in the county. Dr. James M. Cole settled in Winona in 1854 and was the community's first practicing physician.

B. L. H.

Thank you for the memoranda *re* Bunnell. They are just what I wanted and a great help. I will of course send you the matter when printed. . . . I regret to say that I got Bunnell's name too late to go into my cyclopedia.

HOWARD A. KELLY

Dr. Kelly would be greatly obliged to you if you will have a photograph taken of Dr. Bunnell's diploma from the La Crosse Medical College. . . . Your society has furnished Dr. Kelly with the exact information wanted and was the only source which could give the place of his graduation

Your splendid paper on Dr. Bunnell, prepared by Miss Heilbron, does not give the date of his death; could you give this, and tell of what he died? One communication said he died in 1903 and stated that he left no children; another that he died in a hospital at Homer and left daughters and gives the date as the autumn of 1905. Please straighten this out.

Can you tell me something of the La Crosse Medical College?

HARRIET BLOGG

According to the *Winona Independent* for July 24, 1903, Dr. Bunnell "was taken to the Winona Hospital for treatment, and remained there for some weeks, and on improving was taken home, but suffered a relapse with fatal results." The nature of his illness is not mentioned. Since this statement appears in connection with the funeral notice, he probably died about July 20, 1903.[2] All accounts used in the preparation of the sketch of Dr. Bunnell agree that he had no children. He seems to have died at his home in Homer.

A brief history of the La Crosse Medical College appears in a *History of La Crosse County, Wisconsin* (Chicago, 1881). The college "was instituted in the fall of 1864, under a charter granted April 18, to Dugald D. Cameron, P. S. McArthur, J. B. G. Baxter, William L. Kennett, Ewen H. McMillan, William T. Wenzell and Augustus Brummel, as the charter members." The original board of trustees was made up of these charter members and the first officers were chosen from

[2] Dr. Kelly, in his article on Bunnell (see *ante*, n. 1), gives July 21, 1903, as the date of the latter's death. The author bases his statement on data furnished by Mr. Harry L. Buck, postmaster of Winona.

their numbers. At this time the college was conducted by an imposing corps of professors. "The college continued in active operation for two or three years, since which time no regular meetings have been held, but the charter has been kept good by the election of officers yearly, and it is the intention of the officers to again put it in operation at no distant day." So far as is known, however, this intention was never carried out.

B. L. H.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Trans-Mississippi West (1803–1853): A History of Its Acquisition and Settlement. By CARDINAL GOODWIN, PH. D., professor of American history in Mills College. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1922. 528 p. Maps.)

During the past generation, within the period so much influenced by Frederick Jackson Turner, as a matter of fact, there has been much specialized work in the field of western history. While the soil is still far from being thoroughly tilled there has been accumulated a goodly crop of studies which make the work of synthesis more possible than even a few years ago. With the accumulation it would appear that, tentatively at least, something in the way of a summary, a compendious view, could be attempted. Some years ago Frederic L. Paxson, in his *Last American Frontier,* ventured into the field. Now Cardinal Goodwin, in the *Trans-Mississippi West,* tries his hand at an earlier period, the half century after the purchase of Louisiana.

In a certain sense Mr. Goodwin had a virgin field. He had an opportunity to bring together within the covers of a single volume a synthesis of the labors of others illuminated by his own interpretation. To a degree, so far as the first factor is concerned, he has performed the task; the illumination, however, is conspicuous by its almost entire absence. This is not an inspiring book, despite the fact that it deals with one of the most romantic phases of American history; the lack of inspiration is evident both in form and in substance. Not only is it dry reading, but it brings no new point of view. It does not stimulate the reader to delve further for treasures the existence of which at least could have been indicated even though the limits of the book made impossible the inclusion of detailed accounts of the materials available.

Minnesota belongs in part to the Trans-Mississippi West, and, while one would expect no very large space to be given to this relatively small part of the total region under consideration, one is astonished at the slight attention paid to it. One of the best chapters of the book is that dealing with "The American Fur

Trade and Commerce in the West," and here, certainly, the reader legitimately may expect to find something of the trade of the Northwest. But almost no mention is made of it. Names like those of Henry H. Sibley and Ramsay Crooks do not appear. Indeed, if one were to take this book as an authentic account of the Trans-Mississippi West in the half century it covers, one would conclude that little or no activity occurred outside the Rocky Mountain trade.

One chapter is entitled "Early American Settlement of Iowa and Minnesota." Of the twenty-eight pages allowed this topic, somewhat under six are allotted to Minnesota. Perhaps this proportion is correct, for prior to 1853 settlement north of Iowa had not made much progress. Nevertheless, out of 507 pages of text, one might logically expect to find more than some twenty, all told, dealing more or less directly with the upper western Mississippi Valley.

If disappointment comes to one who seeks to find an adequate, though condensed, account of the North Star State, little more satisfaction is found in several other phases. In the discussion of the fur trade as a whole, for example, there is not very much more than an epitome of Chittenden's volumes. The Pacific Northwest, which is the theme of four complete chapters and a portion of the subject of two others, has allotted to it enough space for rather thorough treatment; nevertheless, what with the method of arrangement which lends itself to some duplication of account, this region is not much more convincingly treated than is the old Minnesota territory.

Constantly the reader wonders why certain names do not appear: why, for instance, that of Robert J. Walker never arises in connection with the acquisition of Texas; why Peter Skene Ogden is left out.

When the organization of Missouri is the topic, as it is in a part of chapter 3, the reaction of the people of that prospective state to congressional legislation would seem to warrant at least as full an account as is given to what took place in Washington. No story of the Trans-Mississippi West can be told without considerable discussion of the racial elements which made up its population. Only here and there, however, is this matter adverted to.

Perhaps one of the most striking characteristics of the volume is the more or less skillful manner in which the author manages to dodge controversial issues. That there was controversy one does gather at times, but, on the whole, no reader unfamiliar with the period and the field would have the faintest conception of the battles which raged about so many factors. The question of public lands and their disposal scarcely rises to the surface; the tale of the acquisition of Texas and its aftermath reads as placidly as a novel by Anthony Trollope. There is no color in the story of one of the most colorful periods and fields of American history. Mr. Goodwin may have squatted on the field but his preëmption rights are by no means secure.

One of the most admirable features of the work is the bibliographical note at the end of each chapter. While there are some surprising gaps, these notes form a pretty good summary of the major literature of the subject; somewhat less attention than might be hoped is paid to the publications of the various historical societies. The index is fairly full and adequate.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin (*Wisconsin Domesday Book, General Studies,* vol. 1). By JOSEPH SCHAFER. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1922. xiii, 212 p. Illustrations, maps.)

This volume does not purport in the first instance to be a complete history of agriculture in Wisconsin; it is, rather, a "general introduction to the *Town Studies* of the *Wisconsin Domesday Book.*" Most readers of the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN will be familiar with Mr. Schafer's plans for the *Domesday Book* and with his ideas as to the advantages of a "microscopical" or sample method of studying history. In as much as the first volume of Mr. Schafer's *Town Studies* is now in press, we shall soon have a chance to adjudge the merits of the whole program. When the time came to cast the data for the twenty-five towns (townships is the popular designation) included in this volume "it was seen," says Mr. Schafer, "that the matter on each town could be treated in much smaller compass . . . if there was a comprehensive sketch of the history of agriculture in the state to

which on all general topics one could simply refer, instead of repeating such matter in the texts pertaining to the separate towns." This is the genesis of the present volume. The author hopes, however, that it will also serve as a tentative sketch of the history of agriculture until such time as the intensive local studies shall furnish the basis for a better one.

As an introduction to the *Domesday* series, the present volume serves admirably. First of all, it gives a spirited account of the early rush into the southwestern lead diggings; of the new and larger migration which set in very shortly over the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, mostly from New York, New England, and Ohio; of how this movement was supplemented presently by immigrants from Germany, Norway, Great Britain, Switzerland, and Canada; of how these various groups of settlers selected their land, developed their holdings, and in a remarkably short time made farms out of all the readily available land of what Mr. Schafer calls Wisconsin's "Old South"; of how wheat, the lure which first drew the New Yorkers and Vermonters to Wisconsin, by its succession of very fat and very lean years gambled with their destinies, till, especially after 1870, they either became discouraged and moved on, or turned to corn, hogs, and cattle; of the waxing and waning of wool production; of the early influences which gave Wisconsin its present eminence in dairy farming; of, finally, how the very movement which had peopled Wisconsin in the forties and fifties, in the seventies and eighties swept the population of Wisconsin on into Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas, until in 1890 nearly a quarter of a million of its natives were found by census-takers to be living outside its borders, and Wisconsin's "New North" was left stranded in the lee of the current. One chapter gives a good account of the development of improved livestock in Wisconsin. Another traces the relationship of lumbering and farming in the settlement period.

A second way in which the present volume serves as a good introduction to the *Domesday* studies is that by its use of data from the town studies themselves, it gives us a chance to see how valuable these studies are going to be. In particular, the careful analysis of the census data of 1850 and of the early land office records reconstructs a clear and accurate picture of

the first stages of settlement. The foretaste which is thus given of the town studies arouses a keen appetite for more.

As a history of agriculture in Wisconsin, of course, this first volume has many shortcomings. It is, after all, mostly a history of Wisconsin agriculture before 1870; and surely Wisconsin agricultural history since 1880 is more significant than all Wisconsin agricultural history before 1880. It treats inadequately many phases of Wisconsin agricultural history — for example, the development of railroads, markets, and tenure systems.

As agricultural history, it is characteristic of the species in many ways. Mr. Schafer was reared on a farm, as all good agricultural historians should be — but only on a farm in southwestern Wisconsin, which, being interpreted, means that he does not know farming as it was practiced in his boyhood in other parts of the state. Second, it is some time since Mr. Schafer lived on a farm, which means that his ideas of what has happened since his youth have been obtained from miscellaneous sources. One of these is the farm papers, which are always tainted with propaganda. When Mr. Schafer applies his microscopical methods to the best official records of the years 1890 to 1920, he will find that what was actually happening with the farmers in various parts of the state is likely to be different in many details from what was being advocated and discussed at the time by farm journals, agricultural college professors, and the like. The taint of propaganda is most evident, as one would expect, in the discussion of dairying and farming in the cut-over districts. Dean Henry's *Northern Wisconsin,* he will find, is better immigration literature than source material. Third, although Mr. Schafer knows technical agriculture surprisingly well, he does not know it well enough. Fourth, the economic forces are very inadequately presented. How, for example, can one discuss properly the shifts in systems of farming without making use of the economic principles determining choice of enterprises, the law of comparative advantage and its corollaries? Fifth, the influence of climate upon the development of Wisconsin agriculture is very largely ignored — and it is a very important influence. Sixth, the influences of soil and topography are only partly presented. The history of Wisconsin agriculture

ought to explain, it seems to the reviewer, how Adams County or Kewaunee County, for example, has come to be what it is. Seventh, more care could well be given to the statistical coefficients used in making comparisons between counties and census periods.

It is, of course, almost physically impossible that one person shall qualify in all the foregoing respects. Mr. Schafer is an unusually good combination, but he needs more help from others than historians before he can make first-class history of the town studies. Even at that, Mr. Schafer's reporting of developments since 1880 is probably better agriculture than it is history.

It is apparent from the very frontispiece, which is labeled "Wisconsin — Land Fertile and Fair," that Wisconsin is going to be somewhat glorified in the *Domesday Book*. The people of Wisconsin will like the series — no doubt Mr. Schafer wants them to.

JOHN D. BLACK

South Dakota Historical Collections. Volume II. Compiled by the State Department of History. (Pierre, Hipple Printing Company, 1922. 600 p. Illustrations.)

This volume, like others of the series to which it belongs, is made up of miscellaneous papers. For example, it includes a reprint of reports of Lieutenant G. K. Warren upon his explorations in Dakota and Nebraska from 1855 to 1858, a general summary of the progress of South Dakota during 1921 and 1922, a list of newspapers on file in the offices of the department of history, and, last but not least, reprints *in toto* of selected numbers of five frontier newspapers of Dakota Territory. In addition to the reports of Lieutenant Warren, the following articles will have special interest for students of the history of Minnesota and the Northwest: "Recollections of Ft. La Framboise in 1862 and the Rescue of Lake Chetak Captives," by Charles P. Barbier; "Basil Clement (Claymore)," an account of trading and exploring expeditions on the upper Missouri and Platte rivers, by Charles Edmund DeLand; "The Last Buffalo Hunt," by the Reverend Thomas L. Riggs; and an account of the opening of the Rosebud Reservation in 1904.

The reprinting in full of selected issues of rare newspapers in a volume of this kind is something of a novelty and is, therefore, worthy of note. It is to be doubted whether this method could be followed on a large scale, however, on account of the expense, for the reprint of one number of the *Democrat* alone occupies thirty pages of the volume. The section entitled "Newspapers of South Dakota," which contains the reprints, opens with a brief account of the establishment of the *Democrat*, the first newspaper printed within the geographical limits of Dakota Territory, at Sioux Falls in 1859, and then presents a list of early Dakota newspapers with notes concerning them. Unfortunately the writer, presumably Mr. Doane Robinson, has incorporated in this otherwise valuable account a sketch of the Albright Press, which he still maintains is the original Goodhue press on which the *Minnesota Pioneer*, the first newspaper in Minnesota, was printed. When the authenticity of the old hand press now preserved in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society as the original Goodhue press was first challenged in the fall of 1919, the present reviewer made an investigation of the matter and adduced considerable evidence to prove that the Goodhue press never left Minnesota, but continued in honorable service on various newspapers practically up to the time of its purchase by the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* in 1905. The results of this investigation, which were made public in the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN for February, 1920, are ignored by Mr. Robinson. Instead, he reprints a brief article from the *Palimpsest* by John C. Parish containing several errors, to which attention has already been called in the BULLETIN. (See *ante*, 3: 532.) Mr. Robinson's article does not strengthen the claims for the Albright press. It is simply a reassertion of the claim without the presentation of any evidence.

The volume under review is well bound, printed on good paper, and supplied with an index and a table of contents. Typographical errors, however, such as "membehship" for "membership" (p. 7) and "Waren" for "Warren" (p. 60), both in captions where they could easily have been caught by the proof reader, mar the otherwise attractive appearance of the book.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK, JR.

Statement to the Nineteen Hundred Twenty-three Legislature. By RAY P. CHASE, state auditor. (N. p., n. d. 106 p. Illustrations, maps.)

Under this colorless heading Mr. Chase has presented a comprehensive survey of the state park situation in Minnesota. It is an unbiased statement of facts and conditions, the keynote of which is sounded in the first paragraph. "A state park system is either a good thing or it is a bad thing. It either benefits the people of the state sufficiently to warrant the expenditure of public monies, or it is of so little benefit that public funds should not be expended to create or preserve such a system." If state parks are a good thing and should be retained, then, in Mr. Chase's opinion, control over them should be vested in some commissioner or commission instead of being divided among a number of state officials in various departments.

A statement of "What Other States Have Done," written by Frank Nutter, a landscape architect and engineer of Minneapolis, comprises the first part of the report and serves to throw light upon the general problem. In this the development of park administration in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Iowa, and Wisconsin is explained. Mr. Chase then enumerates Minnesota's state parks, describing in each case the location, improvements, and general conditions, and stating the amount of the annual appropriations for maintenance. In offering suggestions for numerous additional parks Mr. Chase adopts the principle that a state park system should benefit as large a proportion of the people of the state as possible.

Since the adequate preservation and marking of historic places are matters closely allied to the problem of state parks, the report devotes considerable attention to historic sites in Minnesota and lists a number of monuments and other markers. Specific suggestions are offered as to the further development of this work.

Great credit is due to the compiler of this report for assembling this material and for presenting it in usable form. The pamphlet is profusely illustrated and is supplied throughout with detailed maps prepared by the commissioner of highways. It is to be regretted that no index has been provided and that the table of contents is incomplete. Nevertheless the report will prove a use-

ful handbook of information to those who desire to study the state park situation in Minnesota.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK, JR.

The Story of the North Star State. By DANIEL E. WILLARD, A. M., formerly professor of geology, State Agricultural College of North Dakota. (St. Paul, Webb Publishing Company, 1922. 395 p. Illustrations, maps, charts.)

The title of this book might be supposed to imply that it contains a history of the settlement and development of Minnesota as a territory and a state. Instead it describes the ancient topographic and geologic features of this area, treating quite fully of the Ice Age and its drift formations, the prairies and forests, the peat bogs, the diverse soils and their values for farming, and the flora and fauna. The last seven chapters, comprising more than a hundred pages, are entitled "Geology from a Car Window" and note the bedrocks, glacial drift, terraces and plains of modified drift, morainic hills and lakes, and the eroded gorges, valleys, and flood plains of the present rivers, as seen by the traveler along the railways of the state. Other chapters describe and map glacial Lake Agassiz, which occupied the Red River Valley in the closing stage of the glacial period, its outflow by the River Warren in the courses of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers, the similarly ice-dammed Lake Duluth, the lakes and rivers of Freeborn County, the remarkable chains of lakes in Martin County, the Dalles of the St. Croix, the Falls of St. Anthony, and the Vermilion, Mesabi, and Cuyuna iron ore ranges.

Twenty maps and 135 other text figures, chiefly from photographs, well illustrate this volume, which is written in simple language for "the great reading public of Minnesota," and for use in schools as a "home geography." Its general plan follows the author's earlier book for North Dakota, *The Story of the Prairies* (Chicago, 1902), which has been widely used in its schools. The people of the states treated in these two volumes should be no less interested in the story of the geography and geology, the creation and evolution, of these states than in accounts of their more recent human history.

WARREN UPHAM

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The legislature, which has just adjourned as this issue of the BULLETIN goes to press, granted four thousand dollars of the ten thousand dollar increase in its annual appropriation asked by the society, making the total forty-four thousand dollars. In view of the commendable desire on the part of the legislature for economy in state expenditures, this increase is all that could reasonably be expected. It is to be regretted, however, that, of the sum appropriated, twenty thousand dollars can be used only "for equipment, travel and office expenses," as this restriction makes impossible greatly needed increases in the staff.

The additions to the active membership during the first three months of 1923 numbered sixty-eight. In the following list of the names of these new members it will be noted that fifteen Minnesota counties and four states other than Minnesota are represented:

BLUE EARTH: Benjamin D. Smith of Mankato.

BROWN: August Hummel of New Ulm and H. Frank Scobie of Sleepy Eye.

FREEBORN: Andrew W. Johnson of Albert Lea.

GOODHUE: Frances Densmore of Red Wing.

HENNEPIN: O. Ralph Anderson, John E. Blegen, Mrs. Eugene Fogg, William T. Fraser, Mrs. Myra Griswold, Dunham Jackson, Manly S. Jackson, Emily D. McMillan, James A. Peterson, Mrs. Harry Share, John F. Sinclair, Mrs. Bertha K. Smith, and Elizabeth Underwood, all of Minneapolis.

MCLEOD: Sam G. Anderson and Percy E. Avery of Hutchinson.

MOWER: Orson R. Steffens of Racine.

OLMSTEAD: Clair A. Chapman of Rochester.

RAMSEY: George R. Dane, Mrs. Mabel I. DeVinny, Otto Hall, David G. Hedberg, Mrs. Thomas B. Jennings, Wesley E. King, Mrs. L. D. Libbey, August J. Lindvall, Axel E. Lundholm, Frank B. Millard, Amy C. Moon, William F. Peet, Mrs. Emma H. Perkins, Clarence W. Rife, Litton E. Shields, Edward Swenson, and John H. Wolterstorff, all of St. Paul.

REDWOOD: Dr. William A. Brand, Dr. Herman B. Cole, Arthur P. Falk, Dr. James W. Inglis, Marion Johnson, Charles Luscher, Mrs. A. D. McRae, Matthew J. Odlaug, and John B. Philbrick, all of Redwood Falls.

RENVILLE: Frank Hopkins and the Reverend W. E. Mahle of Fairfax.

ST. LOUIS: Arthur P. Folsom of Buhl; Clarence H. Barnes, John H. Hearding, Mrs. William A. McGonagle, Andrew H. Markkanen, and Oscar L. Mather of Duluth; Peter Schaefer of Ely; and Dr. Bertram S. Adams and C. E. Everett of Hibbing.

WASECA: Olney K. Long of Janesville and Fred W. Senn of Waseca.

YELLOW MEDICINE: John J. Mooney of Granite Falls.

NON-RESIDENT: Victor Albjerg of Council Bluffs, Iowa; Frank M. Anderson of Hanover, New Hampshire; Thompson C. Elliott of Walla Walla, Washington; Mrs. James Hillman of Fort Dodge, Iowa; John P. Nash of Berkeley, California; and Augustus S. Prescott of Sheldon, Iowa.

The St. Louis County Historical Society took out an institutional membership in this period.

The society has lost seven active members by death during the three months ending March 30, 1923: Thomas Bardon of Ashland, Wisconsin, February 2; the Reverend George C. Tanner of Minneapolis, February 13; George A. Du Toit of Chaska, February 20; Dr. Arthur M. Eastman of Minneapolis, February 24; Trevanion W. Hugo of Duluth, February 27; Mason W. Tyler of Minneapolis, March 15; and Ernest T. Critchett of Minneapolis, March 25; also one corresponding member, Henry C. Campbell, of Milwaukee, January 2. The deaths of two other corresponding members, L. Bradford Prince of Santa Fé, New Mexico, December 8, 1922, and Frederick B. Wright of Kensington, Maryland, December 12, 1922, have not previously been reported in the BULLETIN.

The public libraries of Ironton, Chatfield, and Little Falls; the Carlton High School; and the state teachers' colleges of Bemidji and Moorhead have become subscribers to the society's publications during the first quarter of 1923.

The traveling exhibit of the society was displayed in the Duluth Public Library after its use at the meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society on March 5.

The increase in the use of the society's library has not yet lost its impetus. During January, February, and March 13,216 books were served to 2,008 readers in the main reading room. This is 80 per cent more than the number for the first quarter of 1922, which, in turn, was 80 per cent more than that for the first quarter of 1921. March, which is usually the busiest month of the year, saw 5,162 books served as compared with 3,600 for March, 1922. The number of readers was 850, an average of 33 a day; and the average number of books served each day was 198. On the busiest day of the month, 380 books were served to 51 different readers, and at one time it was noted that 27 persons were working in the reading room at once.

The impossibility, with the present limited staff of cataloguers, of classifying and cataloguing all incoming material for the library has now been definitely recognized, and plans have been worked out for dividing the books into two groups. All those which are not likely to be immediately needed in the library are put in what is called the deferred group. These are arranged by themselves alphabetically in a section of the bookstack set apart for the purpose, and there they will have to remain until the cataloguing staff is increased. A single card for each book is filed in the official catalogue in order to prevent the accession of duplicates. The library of the Swedish Historical Society of America, which was turned over to the society on permanent deposit a couple of years ago, is in the same situation as this deferred group; that is, it is arranged alphabetically and the books are accessioned, but no classification or cataloguing has been possible.

The practical value of the archives work done by the society has been well illustrated during the recent session of the state legislature. Among the records turned over to the society by the secretary of state a few years ago were some territorial legislative papers which had been reposing, presumably since their removal from the Old Capitol, in a couple of gunny sacks under a bench in one of the sub-basement shipping rooms of the New

Capitol. Included among these documents — which have now been cleaned, pressed, arranged, and filed — are the papers of a territorial building commission. During the winter the attorney-general's office was asked by a legislative committee for an opinion as to the right of the state to sell the property on which the Old Capitol is located, it being a tradition that in case it were not used for state purposes this property would revert to the heirs of Charles Bazille, who gave the site to the territory in 1851. The attorney-general's office found that the deed as recorded contained a reference to the formal tender of the property and, consequently, wished to see that document. The aid of the society was enlisted and in a short time the desired document was located among the papers of the territorial building commission just referred to. It is reported that this document makes it certain that the state possesses unconditional title to the property in question. Its discovery, therefore, may be a matter of considerable legal and financial importance.

Another instance of the importance of the society's archival work was furnished shortly after the House of Representatives established a special committee on reorganization of state government. The attention of the committee was called to the fact that the society has in its archives collection all the papers, consisting of minutes, correspondence, reports from state departments, and scrapbooks, of the efficiency and economy commission appointed by Governor Eberhart and also of the legislative commission which followed it; and the chairman of the committee made an examination of this material. Copies of the printed reports of the Eberhart commission also were furnished for the use of the new committee.

Arrangements have been made for the calendaring for the society and a number of similar institutions in other states in the Northwest of the great collection of the American Fur Company papers in the library of the New York Historical Society, and this work is now under way. It is expected that photostatic copies of such of these documents as are of special importance for Minnesota history will be secured in the course of time.

Four illustrated lectures have been given in the museum by the curator during the first three months of 1923, three to high

school classes and one to a group of Camp Fire Girls. Two other organizations, one of which was the Cosmopolitan Club of the University of Minnesota, have held meetings in the museum rooms and the Daughters of the American Revolution held a reception there on February 23 which was attended by about 150 people. At the meeting of the Cosmopolitan Club the superintendent gave an illustrated talk on "Cosmopolitan Aspects of Minnesota History," in which he called attention to the French, Spanish, and British interest in Minnesota in the early period, to the problems connected with the international boundary, and, finally, to the various immigrant elements that have contributed to the development of the state.

An audience of about two hundred witnessed the third annual costume show in the museum on Washington's birthday. The parts in a dialogue entitled "The Great American Family," which effectively explained the costumes exhibited in a series of living pictures, were taken by Mrs. Solon J. Buck and Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook. The dialogue was written by Mr. Babcock.

Commercial concerns in the Twin Cities are making increasing use of the museum collections of the society. During the first quarter of 1923 material for display purposes has been loaned to five Twin City concerns. In addition, the first postoffice of St. Paul was exhibited at a meeting of the Fourth District Federation of Women's Clubs in the Wilder Building, St. Paul, on February 27, and at a meeting of the Fortnightly Study Club the next day in the St. Paul Public Library.

Three members of the staff, the superintendent, the curator of the museum, and the curator of manuscripts, attended the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Oklahoma City, March 29 to 31. Mr. Buck delivered the presidential address of the organization and Miss Nute read a paper at the meeting. On the way back to St. Paul, Miss Nute stopped at St. Louis to make an inventory of material for Minnesota history in the manuscript collection of the Missouri Historical Society. Mr. Babcock went from Oklahoma City to Charleston, South Carolina, to attend a meeting of the American Museum Association, at one session of which, on April 6, he spoke on "The Training of Historical Museum Personnel."

During January, February, and March the superintendent has spoken seven times before different organizations on Minnesota history and the work of the society, one of the talks being at Hutchinson and the others in the Twin Cities. On February 26 the curator of the museum gave an illustrated talk on Minnesota history before the Kiwanis Club of St. Cloud. The assistant superintendent has given several talks on Minnesota history during the quarter, and on March 27 he addressed a conference of high school teachers at the university on the teaching of Minnesota history in the high schools and explained a syllabus which he has prepared to facilitate this work. This syllabus has been mimeographed by the college of education of the university.

ACCESSIONS

The work of reproducing the photostatic copies of the American Fur Company's letter books which have been borrowed from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has been completed (see *ante,* p. 61). The material consists of copies of official letters written between 1816 and 1828 by the company's resident agent at Mackinac, Robert Stuart, and throws much light on the activities of the company in the Northwest. The nature of the outfits sent to the several posts, the instructions to traders, the routes followed, and the rivalry with the Hudson's Bay Company are among the many subjects which may be studied in these informing fur-trade documents.

Copies are being made of two manuscript diaries of Lewis Harrington for the years 1855 and 1856 which have been loaned to the society by Mr. Harry L. Merrill of Hutchinson, a son-in-law of Harrington. The latter, a surveyor and farmer who came to Minnesota in April, 1855, from Dalton, Ohio, was one of the founders of Hutchinson, and his diaries tell of pioneer life in that community. Part of the entry for November 21, 1855, reads: "Came to Glencoe at night organized Hutchinson Co. in evening &c." On December 5, the diariest writes: "Sent oxen out for load fixed for going to Hutchinson." On July 2, 1856, he describes a hunt in which he caught a bear. The next day he records a visit by Sioux Indians who displayed Chippewa scalps

and plunder. Other Harrington diaries, which carry the record into the sixties, will be received later from Mr. Merrill for copying.

Most of the papers left by the late Maria Sanford, whose biography was reviewed in the last number of the BULLETIN, are now in the possession of the society. To the two boxes of papers formerly received, five more have been added through the courtesy of Miss Mary Kirtland of Minneapolis, a niece of Miss Sanford. The manuscripts contain much valuable material which has not been used in the published biography. The society desires to build up a collection of historical materials which will illuminate all phases of the state's history, and the preservation of the papers of this prominent Minnesota woman and educator will be gratifying both to her admirers and to students of the cultural development of the Northwest. By request some of the papers are to be withheld from the public until 1931.

The collection of documents relating to the Nelson-Kindred congressional campaign of 1882 which has been received from Senator Knute Nelson through the courtesy of Mr. Elmer E. Adams of Fergus Falls is an important addition to the society's materials on the political history of Minnesota. The papers are described in footnotes 10, 11, and 14 of Mr. Adams' article in the present number of the BULLETIN.

One of Abraham Lincoln's last signatures is now, through the courtesy of Mr. Walter Clark of Minneapolis, in the custody of the society. The autograph was appended on April 12, 1865, to a commission appointing "Edwin Clark of Minnesota . . . to be Agent for the Chippewas of the Mississippi, Pillager and Lake Winnebagoshish bands, and the Indians of Red Lake and Pembina."

A manuscript copy of an autobiography entitled "Forty Years of Journalism" has been presented by the author, Mr. Frank A. Carle of Minneapolis. College days at the University of Michigan, a newspaper reporter's training, sharp political campaigns of the eighties and nineties, and reminiscences of prominent men and women are among the many interesting topics discussed by

the author. Mr. Carle's long acquaintance with the Twin Cities and his experiences in connection with local journalism add value and interest to the account of his experiences, and his unusually varied and rich friendships lend human flavor to his pages.

A copy of a paper on "The Friendly Ojibways of the Lake Superior Country" has been presented to the society by its author, Mr. William E. Culkin, who read it at the annual meeting of the Old Settlers of the Head of the Lakes in Duluth on December 13. Through the courtesy of Mr. Culkin the society has received also a manuscript copy of Mr. J. H. Darling's paper on "The Development of Lake Superior," which was read at the January meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society.

Several papers relating to F. O. Nilsson, a Baptist clergyman exiled from Sweden because of his religious beliefs, have been presented by Mr. Swen Bernard of St. Paul. Nilsson came to the United States in 1853 and was a missionary in Houston County, Minnesota. A short account of Nilsson, pictures of his birthplace and of himself, and a photograph of a petition for the removal of the Swedish sentence of exile are included in the gift.

A collection of Civil War letters has been presented by Mr. Nelson Flint of North St. Paul. The letters, which were written by Mr. Flint's father, Frank S. Flint of Benton County, are accompanied by a number of old deeds and other family papers, and three issues of the *Winchester Army Bulletin,* a newspaper printed by the Union forces at Winchester, Tennessee, in the summer of 1863.

Several valuable additions have been made recently to the society's large picture collection. Mrs. Cora N. Elwell of Los Angeles, California, has presented a framed crayon portrait of her father, the late Calvin A. Tuttle, who came to Minnesota as a millwright to assist in the erection of the first sawmill at the Falls of St. Anthony. A photographic copy of a crayon portrait of Judge Isaac N. Cardozo, the acquisition of whose papers was noted in the February BULLETIN, has been presented by his daughter, Miss Ellen Cardozo of St. Paul. A set of lantern slides of the mayors of St. Paul from 1854 to 1923 has been received

from Mr. Caryl Spiller, director of the St. Paul Institute. The collection is complete save for a portrait of John E. Warren, who served as mayor of the city in 1863. The Honorable Ray P. Chase, state auditor, has turned over to the society sixty cuts for the maps and illustrations in his recent report on state parks. A number of these were made from pictures in the society's collection.

A set of plates for a series of base maps of Minnesota showing county divisions for each decennial year from 1850 to 1900 has been presented by the General Alumni Association of the University of Minnesota. The plates were made originally in connection with the preparation of Dr. Edward V. Robinson's book entitled *Early Economic Conditions and the Development of Agriculture in Minnesota,* which was published by the university in 1915. The society has had a supply of maps run off from each of the plates, and they are now available for the use of students of Minnesota history.

A valuable file of the *Madison Weekly Democrat,* an important Wisconsin newspaper, has been received from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in exchange for the file of a Minnesota newspaper. The twenty-four volumes received cover the period from 1872 to 1905, with some omissions.

A gift of 30 books and nearly 150 pamphlets has been received from the Minnesota society of the Sons of the American Revolution, through its secretary, Mr. Charles H. Bronson, and Mr. Herbert C. Varney, both of St. Paul.

A scrapbook containing newspaper clippings, programs, and announcements relating to the Minnesota society of the Sons of the Revolution for the period from 1892 to the present has been presented by that organization through its secretary, Mr. J. B. Beals of St. Paul.

NEWS AND COMMENT

A thoughtful article on "State Historical Societies," by A. H. Shearer, is printed in the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association for October, 1922. The author compares state historical societies throughout the country as regards their discharge of four primary functions: "the interesting of people in the history of their state or locality," the correlation of the work of local historical societies, the preservation of records, and the issuing of publications.

An article on "The State and Historical Work," by Clarence E. Carter, which is published in the *Ohio History Teachers' Journal* for January, is an argument for more adequate state support of historical work in Ohio. The writer discusses the historical activities of many other states, including Minnesota, Illinois, Iowa, and Michigan.

An English periodical, the *Library Association Record,* carries an article in its August, 1922, number on the subject of "Collaboration in Historical Research," by Joan Wake. The writer urges collaboration on a wide scale, not only of public libraries and "record societies," but of universities, secondary and elementary schools, educational authorities, official and private custodians of records, and other institutions and individuals. The reason for such wide collaboration is found not merely in the "modern cry for organisation," but in the need of filling in with local details the framework of social and economic history.

A varied and interesting program contributed to the success of the sixteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, which was held at Oklahoma City from March 29 to 31. The presidential address was delivered by the superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, Dr. Solon J. Buck, who took as his subject, "Progress and Possibilities of Mississippi Valley History." Minnesota was also represented on the program by Miss Grace Lee Nute, whose paper on "A Filibustering Expedition of 1836," dealt with the same subject

which she discussed at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society in January. At the session devoted to the general subject of state and local historical societies "Developing State Consciousness Through Historical Work" was discussed by Floyd C. Shoemaker; "Publication Activities of a State Historical Society," by Benjamin F. Shambaugh; and "The State Survey: Methods and Possibilities," by Herbert A. Kellar. Among the numerous other papers read at the meeting were: "The Economic Basis of the Populist Movement in Iowa," by H. C. Nixon; "Voluntary Military Organizations Just Previous to the Civil War," by Theodore G. Gronert; and "The Mercenary Factor in the Creation of the Union Army, 1861–1865," by Fred A. Shannon.

An article on "Old Franklin: A Frontier Town of the Twenties," by Jonas Viles, published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March, demonstrates the historical possibilities in the careful study of typical small frontier communities by detailing the story of one Missouri town. The *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for 1920–21 contains a paper on "State and Local History," by Clarence H. McClure, and a suggestive article on "Popularizing State History," by Floyd Shoemaker. In the latter the methods employed by the State Historical Society of Missouri are described. "Popularizing history, especially state history," writes the author, "bears or should bear no import of provincial chauvinism. The latter is, in fact, usually strongest and most damaging where accurate history has not been democratized."

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1921 contains an article on "The Influence of Illinois in the Development of Abraham Lincoln," by William E. Barton. An essay on *Abraham Lincoln, Lawyer,* by Charles W. Moores, has been issued as volume 7, number 10 of the Indiana Historical Society *Publications.* Students of Lincoln will be interested in a new book by Nathaniel Wright Stephenson entitled *Lincoln: An Account of His Personal Life, Especially of Its Springs of Action as Revealed and Deepened by the Ordeal of War* (Indianapolis, 1922. 474 p.). The publication of a series of articles entitled

"In the Footsteps of Abraham Lincoln," by Ida M. Tarbell, was begun in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of February 18.

The Jesuits, 1534–1921: A History of the Society of Jesus from Its Foundation to the Present Time is the title of a volume by Thomas J. Campbell in which the entire story of the Jesuits and their world-wide activities is reviewed (New York, 1921. 937 p.). The broad scope of the work has forced the author to allot only a few pages to the history of the Jesuits in North America. Such names as Allouez, Menard, and Marquette are mentioned, but the Minnesota reader will look in vain for the names of Guignas and De Gonnor, for example, the two Jesuit fathers who accompanied La Perrière in 1727 and established the first Christian mission on Minnesota soil. If the book presents little information about the Jesuit missionaries to the Middle West, it does supply a broad account of Jesuit backgrounds, written in scholarly and interesting fashion by a present-day Jesuit.

Despite its general title, a Johns Hopkins University monograph on *The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854* (Baltimore, 1922. 96 p.), by Charles C. Tansill, contains nothing on the operation or abrogation of the treaty. The book is really a study of the making of the Elgin–Marcy treaty or a chapter in the life of William L. Marcy. The author apparently has made no use of some important official reports on the effects of the treaty upon Canadian relations in the twelve years after 1854, a subject of interest to students of Minnesota's relations to the Canadian Northwest.

The social customs of the Hidatsa, a Siouan tribe which, for protection, allied itself with the Mandan and lived with them on the Knife River in what is now North Dakota, are described in a profusely illustrated little volume entitled *Waheenee, An Indian Girl's Story,* by Gilbert L. Wilson (St. Paul, 1921. 189 p.). Although the stories which make up the book are told for children, they are also of interest to scientists and historians; for the author, who is a professor of anthropology at Macalester College, St. Paul, collected them in connection with a scientific study of the tribe.

Captain Fred A. Bill's latest contribution to the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, is a lengthy abstract of Mrs. Elizabeth F. Ellet's *Summer Rambles in the West* (New York, 1853). It begins in the *Post* for February 17 and consists of copious quotations bound together by Captain Bill's comments. "Rafting on the Upper River in the Old Days" by Captain J. W. Darrah, the opening installment of which appears in the *Post* for February 24, is a series of reminiscences of an early riverman.

An admirable summary of the economic history of the Northwest, with special reference to the development of the metropolitan area which centers in the Twin Cities, forms a part of *An Introduction to Economic History,* by Norman S. B. Gras (New York, 1922. 350 p.). Of Minneapolis and St. Paul the author writes, "Still administratively separate, they are, and long have been, a single economic unit, performing the one great function of concentrating in themselves the economic life of a vast area." The book is published as a volume in *Harper's Historical Series,* edited by Guy Stanton Ford.

Numerous speeches and papers, including a short account of "The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Deep Waterway," by Henry B. Nolte, and an address on "Northwest Development," by John S. McLain, are printed in the *Proceedings* of the fifty-sixth annual convention of the Minnesota Editorial Association.

An historical pageant is to be given at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, in June to commemorate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the Mississippi by Jolliet and Marquette.

The leading article in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March is a delightful essay on "Wisconsin," by William Ellery Leonard, in which the author, a poet, writes down in glowing phrases his interpretation of the Badger State and its past. The penetrating study of "The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin," by Joseph Schafer, is continued with a comparison of the two groups with reference to their distinctive traits as farmers. Several "America letters" written by Jacob and Ulrich Bühler in the period from 1847 to 1877, describing their journey to America and their experiences in Wisconsin, are translated and

published under the title, "A Swiss Family in the New World." The originals were located in Switzerland by the translator, Mr. Lowell J. Ragatz, a descendant of Jacob Bühler. Doubtless many packets of letters written by immigrants in Minnesota to friends and relatives in the Old World are still in existence, and would, if found and translated, throw interesting light upon some phases of Minnesota history.

A pamphlet on *The Draper Collection of Manuscripts,* by Joseph Schafer, has been issued by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin as a separate from the *Proceedings* of the society for 1922. The remarkable collection of sources gathered by Dr. Lyman C. Draper about the middle of the last century should be kept intact and whole where it now is preserved, open to all investigators, as Dr. Schafer wisely argues.

In the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for January, two important articles by Louis B. Schmidt, entitled "The Westward Movement of the Corn Growing Industry in the United States" and "An Unworked Field in Mississippi Valley History," are published. In the latter Mr. Schmidt points out the possibilities of the economic history of agriculture as a field for intensive study. The same magazine contains a long article on the "History of the Office of County Superintendent of Schools in Iowa," by Jay J. Sherman.

The Indiana Historical Commission has brought out as volume 2 in the series of *Indiana World War Records* a comprehensive study of how Indiana met the financial problems connected with its participation in the World War. The book, which is entitled *The War Purse of Indiana; The Five Liberty Loans and War Savings and Thrift Campaigns in Indiana during the World War,* is the work of Walter Greenough.

An article on "How Massachusetts Raised her Troops in the Revolution," by Jonathan Smith, in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1921–22, should be of interest, for purposes of comparison, to the readers of Dr. John D. Hicks's study in the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN for February, 1918, of "The Organization of the Volunteer Army in 1861 with Special Reference to Minnesota."

Volume 20 in the *Publications* of the Nebraska State Historical Society (Lincoln, 1922. 400 p.) consists of abstracts and quotations from the *Missouri Republican,* the *Missouri Intelligencer,* and other newspapers for the period from 1808 to 1861 — all the material relating to "the valleys or plains of the Missouri and Arkansas rivers (comprehensively The Nebraska Country) and of the contiguous mountain region." The items are printed in a chronological sequence, and since there is no table of contents, the index must be used if the reader desires to pursue any one topic, such as the fur trade or the Indians or the mails, through the entire period. Probably some other scheme of organization would have added to the scholarly value of the work, but the reader is left in no doubt as to the historical value of the contemporary newspaper reports and views which are thus assembled; and the conglomeration doubtless constitutes, as the editor, Mr. Albert Watkins, observes, a "varied, vivid and often flash lit history."

"A Visit to Red River, An Account Written in 1878 by an American Who Visited the Settlement" is the title of an interesting document published in the *Beaver* for November and December.

General Minnesota Items

Next year will bring the seventy-fifth anniversaries of the organization of Minnesota Territory, of the establishment of the Minnesota Historical Society, and of the beginning of printing in Minnesota. Shall these and other events of 1849 be commemorated in 1924?

The ninetieth birthday of Dr. Folwell, which was celebrated on February 14, occasioned many newspaper articles dealing with the long career and varied achievements of the first president of the University of Minnesota. The keynote of these articles is sounded in the editorial of the *Minneapolis Journal* on February 14 entitled "Dr. Folwell, Young at Ninety." A special "Folwell Birthday Number" of the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly,* dated February 13, contains an appreciation of Dr. Folwell as "Neighbor, Friend, Teacher," by W. F. Webster, and a brief resumé of his career by E. B. Pierce.

"Myth-making and romancing have served to make many of the pioneer figures shadowy and unreal," according to an editorial in the *Minneapolis Journal* of January 17, occasioned by Dr. Folwell's address at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society. "Much better are they when pictured, as Cromwell thought men should be pictured, with their warts and wrinkles. They may thus lose some glamor, but they gain in reality."

In an article entitled "The Frontier and Local History," published in the *Hamline Review* for February, Mr. Theodore C. Blegen discusses the contribution of the pioneers, with special reference to Minnesota, to the study of American history "from the bottom up." The origins of the Minnesota Historical Society and particularly the views of Governor Ramsey regarding the collection of historical records are emphasized.

On May 15, 1922, a monument erected by the state of Minnesota was dedicated in the Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery in commemoration of 164 Minnesota soldiers in the Civil War who are buried there. Appropriate addresses were delivered on the occasion by General C. C. Andrews, Governor J. A. O. Preus, Mr. Henry B. Dike, Mr. Levi Longfellow, and others. These speeches, together with a list of the honored dead, are printed in the *Report of Minnesota Commission Appointed to Erect a Monument in the National Cemetery at Jefferson Barracks, Mo.* (1922. 38 p.). The Governor's address consists of an historical review of the service of Minnesota troops in Missouri during the Civil War.

The duplication and conventionality of the names applied to Minnesota lakes are pointed out by Perry S. Williams in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 18 as an argument for a constructive plan of renaming many lakes. In a letter published in the same newspaper for March 25 the assistant superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society calls attention to the fact that Minnesota boasts no less than ninety-nine Mud lakes, eighty-four Long lakes, seventy-five Rice lakes, thirty-five Twin lakes, and, in lesser numbers, an abundance of

Round, Clear, Bass, Crooked, Sand, Silver, Rush, Turtle, and Spring lakes. Careful study of the historical associations of a particular lake and its surroundings should precede its renaming. Local historical societies might find in this matter of place names a field for interesting work. The period of Indian occupation, the story of the French explorations and of the fur trade, and the history of Minnesota in its later development offer unusual opportunities for the selection of names that are historically significant and charming in sound. The historical society has indicated its willingness to coöperate with local communities with a view to finding appropriate place names.

In an address delivered in Minneapolis on January 5 Dr. William W. Folwell proposed the erection of a suitable monument in honor of Henry H. Sibley. He suggested that the state of Minnesota should acquire "an ample park space including Pilot Knob, just back of Mendota village . . . and erect there, within a few minutes walk of his old Mendota home, under the dome of the open sky, an imperishable monument of granite and bronze worthy of the man and of the state he named."

As an argument in favor of the expert administration of state parks and the proper marking of historic sites therein, which are being advocated by state auditor Ray P. Chase before the 1923 legislature, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of February 4 cites the case of the Birch Cooley battlefield. According to this article a monument bearing an erroneous inscription, erected on a site near the battlefield in 1894, has remained in its original state, although the land on which the battle actually occurred was purchased by the state in the following year. The preservation of historic sites of another type — the "original canoe trails in the north woods, over which white men first traveled to explore the wilds of northern Minnesota" — is proposed in a bill introduced in the legislature by Senator Fred Bessette on January 10.

"Five Objections Against the Kensington Rune Stone," all of a linguistic nature, are answered by Hjalmar R. Holand in *Scandinavian Studies and Notes* for November, 1922.

An article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 18 points out certain similarities between the legislature of 1859–60 and that of 1923. It is based upon a comparison made by Lieutenant Governor Louis L. Collins, which reveals the facts that legislative procedure has changed but little during the intervening period and that the proportion of farmers, attorneys, and foreign-born members is about the same now as it was in 1859.

The story of Jules Standing Buffalo, the son of Chief Standing Buffalo of the Sisseton band of the Sioux, and his journey to Washington to claim annuities which are said to have accumulated since the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, is told by Buffalo Child Long Lance in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for March 18. Standing Buffalo is one of a group of Sisseton Indians who escaped to Canada after the massacre. His father was an unsuccessful claimant in the Sisseton and Wahpeton claims case some twenty years ago.

The comprehensive series of articles by W. H. Brill on the highways of Minnesota continues in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune* from January 14 to March 25 with detailed descriptions of the first six of the trunk highways of the state. These articles contain much miscellaneous historical information, which is largely introduced in order to explain the origins of place names along the highways and is based mainly on Dr. Upham's *Minnesota Geographic Names; Their Origin and Historic Significance.*

The effect of Major Joseph R. Brown's " steam wagon " upon road legislation in Minnesota is noted in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 18 (see *ante,* 4: 190). The reader's attention is called to an act of the legislature of 1870 providing for roads specially constructed to accommodate Major Brown's strange vehicle. The illustrations include a picture of the " steam wagon " and a portrait of its inventor.

In a letter to the *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* published on January 28, Captain Fred A. Bill summarizes the results of his investigations concerning the " Virginia, " the first steamboat to come up the Mississippi to Fort St. Anthony, now Fort Snelling. Captain Bill accepts May 10, 1823, as the date of its arrival.

The Minnesota State Art Society, an interesting new Minnesota publication, made its appearance in February. The first number contains a brief historical sketch of the state art society and also a statement of the aims of the organization. Short articles appear on "The Women's Clubs of Minnesota and the State Art Society," "The Minneapolis Institute of Arts," and "The Art Forum." In the *Bulletin* of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts for March there is a brief article on "Early Days of the Society," prepared by Dr. William W. Folwell, who served as president of the Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts during the first five years of its existence.

A scholarly study of "Special Legislation in Minnesota," by William Anderson, appears in the January and February numbers of the *Minnesota Law Review.*

The diary of Colonel George E. Leach, commander of the 151st United States Field Artillery in the World War, is appearing serially in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune.* It opens with an entry for September 3, 1917, just before the "Gopher Gunners" left for France, in the *Tribune* for March 18; and the second installment carries the story to February 26, 1918, when Colonel Leach "went to the front line and saw some of the enemy positions for the first time." Later comments, which apparently have been written by Colonel Leach, are introduced in parentheses in the newspaper version.

Local History Items

Two recent meetings of the St. Louis County Historical Society, on January 2 and March 5, testify to the activity of this new organization. At the January meeting a paper on the "Early Navigation of Lake Superior and the Bringing of Supplies to the Head of the Lakes," by Trevanion W. Hugo, was read in the author's absence by George W. Buck. Other papers were presented on the "Early Physical History of Lake Superior and the Lake Superior Region," by J. H. Darling; the "History and Development of the Vegetable and Plant Life of the County," by Pauline Alford; and "The Early Literature of the County or the Writing of the Early Pioneers," by Alice M.

Dunlop. Four papers were read at the March meeting: the "History of Duluth Harbor," by J. D. Ensign; the "Story of Immigration to St. Louis County," by Albert B. Clarfield; the "Climate of Duluth and St. Louis County," by H. W. Richardson; and Miss Nute's study of the Dickson expedition of 1836 (see *ante,* p. 116–118).

A bit of legislation which passed the Minnesota Senate on March 27 and the House on April 4 may mark the beginning of a movement of great importance for historical work in Minnesota. This is an act which authorizes the county commissioners of St. Louis County to appropriate $2,500 a year for the support of a county historical society approved by the Minnesota Historical Society. Several states have taken steps to promote local history through legislation of this character. If the present measure proves valuable in its application to St. Louis County, an amendment probably can be secured at some future session of the legislature to extend the provisions of the act to other counties.

A series of articles on the "Early History of Parke Township," by J. S. Hosack, beginning in the *Clay County Herald* of Hawley for February 16, is reprinted from the files of the same newspaper for 1900.

In an article on "Politics in 1879 to 1886, with Some Personal Recollections and Observations," in the *Morris Tribune* for January 19, Chief Justice Calvin L. Brown describes local political contests in Stevens County during the period indicated. Considerable attention is given to the Stevens County aspects of the Nelson-Kindred campaign of 1882.

"Reminiscences of Wabasha, 1850–1872," by a pioneer physician, Dr. P. C. Remondino, now of San Diego, California, appear in the *Wabasha Herald* from November 9 to March 29.

Quill and Scroll, a publication issued by the Chatfield High School, contains in its February number a series of essays which are printed under the general title, "History of Chatfield." This project in local history was undertaken by a senior English class

under the supervision of Miss Margaret Snyder. Each of the printed papers is signed by two members of the class. The scope of the work as a whole may be indicated by the topics of the essays or chapters: "Exploration and Land Office Days," "Indian Occupation and Early Game Life," "Naming the Town and Political Organization," "Early New England Settlers," "Prominent Figures," "Immigrants to Chatfield," "Social Life and Customs," "Railroads and Industries," "Chatfield in the Civil War," and "The School and the Press." In an introductory note the editor writes of the student authors, "They have drawn their material from a variety of sources, both older printed accounts, the personal reminiscences of Chatfield's older inhabitants, and some original documents to which they have been given access. They . . . are hopeful that their amateur efforts, which they have enjoyed, may perhaps help to arouse a fresh interest in the history of the community of which they are a part." In the course of the work the class learned of the existence of several manuscript diaries and of one important general collection of historical papers. The essays bear the marks of careful investigation and constitute a genuine contribution to the history of Chatfield. Their special value lies, however, in the fact that they are the work of Minnesota high school students and thus constitute a concrete illustration of the possibilities in local history study by high school classes.

A series of biographical sketches, entitled "Pioneers of Deerwood," appears in the *Deerwood Enterprise,* beginning with its issue of November 24. The articles, which are the work of the editor, A. J. Crone, are based upon careful investigation and should prove a valuable contribution to the history of Crow Wing County.

The past of Olmstead County will be reviewed in an historical pageant to be staged in connection with the county fair in August. Plans for the pageant are described in the *Rochester Daily Post and Record* for January 17.

Installments of a "History of Martin County: A Detailed and True Account of Its Early Settlement by Wm. H. Budd,

One of Its Oldest Settlers," have been appearing daily in the *Martin County Independent* of Fairmont since February 16. The narrative opens with the arrival of the first settlers in 1856. It is particularly interesting as a record of the early settlers of the county and a description of their mode of living. Due consideration is given to the Spirit Lake Massacre of 1857 and to the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, and the results of these uprisings in Martin County are noted.

Charles F. Collisson's feature stories about dairying and agriculture which appear in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune* include, on February 18 and 25, two articles on the history of the Northwest School of Agriculture and Experiment Station at Crookston.

The Richfield Women's Club exhibited the "treasured heirlooms of old families" of its community in connection with a "Richfield exposition" at the Roosevelt School in Minneapolis on March 20 and 21, according to an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 18. Such an exhibit of the relics of pioneer days is of genuine value, for it conveys to the onlooker a sense of reality and thus serves to arouse historical interest.

The seventy-fourth anniversary of the founding of the "first Methodist Episcopal church in Minnesota," the Central Park Methodist Church of St. Paul, occasions a brief article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for January 7, in which the history of the church is sketched. On January 11 the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the People's Church of St. Paul was celebrated. The First Baptist Church of Minneapolis celebrated during the first week of March the seventieth anniversary of its founding. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Swedish Hospital of Minneapolis was observed on March 23.

A sketch of the history of the Sibley House at Mendota, by Beatrice Longfellow, assisted by Mrs. Frank H. Jarrard, is printed in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for February 25.

Recollections of some early employees are included in an illustrated article about the old Nicollet House in the *Minne-*

apolis Journal for February 25. The occasion for its publication is the fact that this Minneapolis landmark is to be wrecked to make way for a new and modern hotel. In its issue for March 25 the *Journal* prints the reminiscences of Mrs. Christine Eustis, the wife of the first owner, concerning the "official opening" of the Nicollet House on May 26, 1858.

To mark the beginning of "Music Week" in Minneapolis, the *Minneapolis Tribune* for January 7 publishes a group of articles dealing with the history of music in that city. An account of the growth of the department of music of the University of Minnesota is contributed by its chairman, Mr. Carlyle M. Scott; and an outline of the development of the McPhail School of Music and Dramatic Art is included. The oldest member of the Apollo Club, Mr. George B. Eustis, sketches the progress of that organization during twenty-seven years; and two pioneer musicians, Mr. Alfred M. Shuey and Mr. Willard Patton, recall some of the outstanding events in the musical record of the city.

The modest beginnings in Minneapolis of the use of two modern conveniences which today are looked upon as necessities are described in articles in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 25. One tells of the first telephones installed in the city in 1877 and the difficulties encountered by those who used them. Of special interest is a list of the "first subscribers" who installed telephones after the Northwestern Telephone Company was organized in 1878. In the second article Mr. J. D. Robb relates the story of the automobile which he purchased in 1902 — one of the first three conveyances of its type to appear in Minneapolis. A picture of Mr. Robb seated in the automobile is published with the article.

The statement that "seventy-five years ago Ard Godfrey . . . started Minneapolis' first building boom" by erecting the house which still stands in Richard Chute Square introduces an article on the subsequent growth of the city in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 18.

A description of St. Paul in 1860 by Ossian E. Dodge is reprinted in the *St. Paul Daily News* of February 4 from the issue

for June, 1860, of a magazine edited by the author and published in Cleveland — *Dodge's Western Literary Museum.* Two years after writing the article the author made St. Paul his home. In a letter published in the *St. Paul Daily News* for January 28, W. C. Graham of Tacoma, Washington, describes the St. Paul that he knew in 1861.

Among the incidents related recently by Benjamin Backnumber in his sketches of "St. Paul Before This," published in the Sunday issues of the *St. Paul Daily News,* are the following: "Alexander Ramsey's second election to the United States senate, without a vote to spare in the Republican nomination caucus," January 7 and 14; a quarrel in 1851 between James M. Goodhue and Daniel A. Robertson in the columns of the newspapers — both Democratic — which they edited, January 28 and February 14; and the "naming of Mendota," March 18. Brief biographies of the Reverend John Sinclair, pastor twenty-five years ago of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Paul, February 18; and of Jacob Schindler and Joseph Bingham, two early newspaper men, February 25 and March 11, also are included.

A brief outline of the history of the Merchants Hotel of St. Paul is included in an illustrated article by Jay W. Ludden in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of January 14.

Memories of Eugene N. Larpenteur, who in 1849 settled on a farm in what is now the Midway district of St. Paul, are revived in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for March 4. A picture of his homestead, sketched by his son, James, and a portrait of his daughter, Mrs. Emilie Zenzius of St. Paul, accompany the article. The career of another St. Paul pioneer, Vital Guerin, who established a farm in what has become the very heart of the city, is the subject of another article in the *Pioneer Press* of the same date.

In celebration of the sixty-ninth anniversary of the incorporation of the city of St. Paul a series of historical tableaux was presented and early views of the city were shown on a screen at the St. Paul Auditorium on March 3. During February the St. Paul Institute conducted a series of Saturday afternoon story

hours on "Historic St. Paul," illustrated with lantern slides, in order to prepare the children of the city for the celebration. The newspapers performed a similar service for adults by publishing illustrated articles on the early history of the city. The growth of St. Paul between 1840 and the late fifties is outlined by Elliott J. Tarbell in the *St. Paul Daily News* for January 21, and in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for the same date a "brief survey of St. Paul's industrial career" is presented. The latter subject is elaborated in the *Pioneer Press* of March 4, which prints an extensive series of articles about pioneer business houses of St. Paul.

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OFFICIAL ENCOURAGEMENT OF IMMIGRATION TO MINNESOTA DURINGTHE TERRITORIAL PERIOD

During the middle of the nineteenth century, when Minnesota's territorial and state governments were being fashioned and put into operation, there was in progress a great migration of Americans and foreigners across the Atlantic states, over the mountains, and down the Ohio Valley into the virgin fields and forests of the Middle West. Some idea of the rapidity of their march may be derived from an examination of the census figures for the period, which reveal that in the twenty years from 1840 to 1860 Wisconsin multiplied its population by twenty-five and Iowa by fifteen and one-half. In 1849, when Minnesota was made a territory, its inhabitants numbered less than 5,000; in 1860, over 172,000 people resided within its boundaries.

The primary need of the new states and territories of the West was settlers; for economic and social progress depended upon the cultivation of land, the building of towns, and the development of transportation. From the point of view of the individual state, therefore, this enormous influx of settlers created a problem of first importance — that of attracting as many as possible within its own particular boundaries. The upper Mississippi Valley belongs to a single physiographic unit, and each of the political units comprising it has much good agricultural land; several had at this time large quantities of timber. As a result of the attempts of a number of states to direct the attention of immigrants to themselves, there arose a keen, aggressive competition, carried on officially and participated in by all those agencies, public and private, which had anything to gain from it. Wisconsin inaugurated the official movement in 1852 by sending an agent to New York who was authorized to do everything in his power to

attract settlers to its lands. The distribution of pamphlets in English, Norwegian, German, and Dutch; the insertion of advertisements in newspapers; and personal conferences with the emigrant were among the methods employed by the Wisconsin commissioner. [1]

Minnesota, soon to follow Wisconsin's example, did not immediately recognize the necessity of doing so. The prophecies for the glorious future of the state which one heard on every hand were based on the assumption that such opportunities as existed here would advertise themselves. The messages of Governor Ramsey to the legislature from 1849 to 1853 are replete with brilliant predictions, but at no time does he suggest the necessity of official action on the part of the territory.

In neglecting to advocate such official advertisement, Ramsey was not relying wholly upon chance, however, to bring the advantages of Minnesota to the attention of outsiders. The land speculator and the newspaper editor, often one and the same individual, utilized every opportunity to spread information about its unrivaled advantages among the uninformed. Before 1855 no fewer than fourteen weekly and four daily newspapers, some short-lived indeed, had been established in Minnesota, [2] and most of them published in their columns articles descriptive of the new territory. Extra copies of these issues were printed and circulated, and all persons interested in the development of the territory were strongly urged to buy them and distribute them among friends and relatives in the East. Several periodicals with a national

[1] Wisconsin Legislature, *Acts and Resolves*, 1852, ch. 432. For a survey of official activities undertaken by Wisconsin and several other states, see Theodore C. Blegen, "The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:3–29 (September, 1919). The most active encouragement of immigration by the midwestern states occurred in the period after the Civil War. Minnesota's territorial activity was only the prelude to aggressive and long-continued efforts made by the state to induce immigrant settlement.

[2] Daniel S. B. Johnston, "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10:247–276 (part 1).

circulation, *De Bow's Review* for example, included similar articles from time to time.[3] Moreover, a number of handbooks reviewing the history of Minnesota and enumerating its advantages had appeared before 1855. Several of the newspapers also conducted a kind of information bureau for the benefit of prospective settlers and visitors. But the influence of the press of a new territory was naturally somewhat limited, and often it did not reach those most open to persuasion.

In the summer of 1853 William G. Le Duc, later a prominent figure in Minnesota, was sent to New York to prepare an exhibit of Minnesota products at the Crystal Palace world's fair, the slender sum of three hundred dollars having been appropriated for that purpose. In his official report to the governor Le Duc pointed out the opportunity of persuading foreigners to come to Minnesota and suggested official action.

Although the first message of Governor Willis A. Gorman, delivered on January 11, 1854, likewise contained no mention of the subject of official advertisement of the territory, the legislature, in the session of that year, considered a bill to provide for an emigration commissioner in New York City and for

[3] In some cases the authors of these articles were Minnesotans. For example a speech of Judge Bradley B. Meeker, delivered before the Benton County Agricultural Society, was reprinted from a Minnesota newspaper in the *Western Journal and Civilian*, 14:330–338 (October, 1855), under the title "Minnesota," and material published in the *Annals* of the Minnesota Historical Society for 1850–51 (St. Paul, 1851) forms the basis of an article entitled "Towns and Statistics of Minnesota," in the *Western Journal of Agriculture, Manufactures, Mechanic Arts, Internal Improvement, Commerce, and General Literature*, 6:103–113 (May, 1851). A few years later Governor Alexander Ramsey contributed a sketch of the state entitled "Minnesota — Her Progress and Her Bright Future" to *DeBow's Review and Industrial Resources, Statistics, Etc.*, 28:325–327 (March, 1860). Earlier articles on Minnesota appear in *DeBow's Review*, 16:343–354 (April, 1854), 17:350–361 (October, 1854), and 21:71–78, 286–288 (July, 1856). An illustrated article entitled "Sketches on the Upper Mississippi," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 7:177–190 (July, 1853), includes a description of Minnesota Territory. The *Western Journal* was published in St. Louis, *DeBow's Review* in New Orleans, and *Harper's Magazine* in New York.

the publication of a description of Minnesota Territory. Apparently there was still little demand for such an act, however, and nothing came of this move. [4]

In his second message, a year later, Governor Gorman discussed the matter at some length and urged the establishment of an emigration agency and the publication of a pamphlet setting forth the advantages of the territory for immigrants. Acting upon this suggestion, the legislature, on March 2, 1855, passed a measure providing for an emigration commissioner at New York which was reënacted in amended form at its next session. In pursuance of this law, the governor on March 16, 1855, named Eugene Burnand for the position thereby created. A man of culture and refinement and possessing a good education, Burnand was well fitted for the position and his appointment appears to have given universal satisfaction, despite the fact that he had resided in the territory only a few months. His official reports disclose the nature and the extent of the advertising done by him during the two years the law was operative.

Most of his efforts were expended in the direction of attracting Germans and Belgians, although he also made some attempt to bring Swiss and French to Minnesota. Very few Belgians came, but the number of Germans grew in the decade after 1850, from 147 to 18,400, or from two and one-half to

[4] Secretary of State's Archives, Legislative Papers, Council File no. 13. The bill contained a provision for the election of a commissioner by the Council and the House of Representatives in joint convention; the sum of $1,500 was to be appropriated for his salary, $250 for office rent, $100 for maps and office furniture, and $400 for assistance to the commissioner; the governor was to be authorized to spend $250 in the publication of a description of the territory in German, French, and such other languages as he should deem advisable. A manuscript note attached to the printed bill reveals that it was proposed to amend it to make the amounts appropriated payable from the "county treasuries of the several counties, in proportion to the amount of population they shall receive in consequence of the establishment of the commissioner of emigration respectively," instead of from the territorial treasury. The archival materials referred to in connection with the documents herewith printed are in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society.

ten per cent of the total population; and there can be little doubt that the special efforts made by Burnand to attract settlers of that nationality were an important factor in this increase. Although Le Duc as early as 1853 had emphasized the desirability of Scandinavians as settlers and the state of Wisconsin was making vigorous efforts to attract them to her lands, Burnand made little attempt to induce Scandinavians to make homes in Minnesota.

In attempting a critical estimate of the achievements of Burnand, it must be recognized, on the one hand, that many other influences were conspiring to attract settlers to Minnesota, as is proved by the fact that in spite of the commissioner's neglect of the Scandinavians their numbers increased from 12 to nearly 12,000 in the decade after 1850; and, on the other hand, account must be taken of the handicaps under which the commissioner was laboring. That the action of the territory outlined above played its part in bringing about the increase in population from 4,535 in 1849 to 40,000 in 1855, 150,037 in 1857, and 172,023 in 1860, cannot be disputed.[5] To throw light on this interesting and little-known phase of territorial history, therefore, several contemporary documents have been assembled and are herewith printed.

Livia Appel
Theodore C. Blegen

Minnesota Historical Society
St. Paul

[5] Censuses were taken in 1849 and 1857 in preparation for the organization of the territorial and state governments, respectively; the figures for 1860 are, of course, from the federal census; those for 1855 are estimates based on figures of Minnesota's first statistician, Joseph A. Wheelock. See William W. Folwell, *History of Minnesota,* 1: 352, 360 (St. Paul, 1921).

Appendix to William G. Le Duc's Report to Governor Willis A. Gorman, 1853 [6]

[Minnesota Territory, *Council Journal,* 1854, Appendix, 147]

The number of emigrants arrived at the port of New York, according to the records of the Office of Emigration, was for 1851, 209,601.

Of these, 163,256 were natives of Ireland; 69,883 of Germany; 16,812 of Switzerland, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Scotland; 46,824 of other countries.

The total number of emigrants who arrived at the port of New York during the year 1852, was 300,992. Of these 118,631 were natives of Ireland; 118,511 of Germany; 19,631 of Scotland, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Poland; 44,519 of other countries. [7]

[6] William Gates Le Duc came to St. Paul in 1850, where he soon won recognition for his ability and his keen interest in the development of the territory. In 1853 the governor appointed him commissioner to the Crystal Palace Exhibition in New York, at which he displayed Minnesota agricultural products. His report to the governor afforded him an opportunity to append this recommendation in regard to immigration. For a later account by Le Duc of his experiences as fair commissioner, see his article entitled "Minnesota at the Crystal Palace Exhibition, New York, 1853," *ante,* 1:351–368. A sketch of Le Duc by Gideon S. Ives appears *ante,* 3:57–65.

[7] Statistics of alien arrivals at the port of New York during 1851 and 1852, compiled by the secretary of state from reports of the customs-house collectors, are published in *Passengers Arriving in the United States,* 1850–51, p. 32–35; 1852, p. 9 (32 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 100; 32 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 45 — serials 644, 679). A table including figures for these years appears also in the New York Commissioners of Emigration, *Annual Reports,* 1868, p. 118; this table is reprinted in Appleton's *American Annual Cyclopædia and Register of Important Events,* 1869, p. 351 (New York, 1871). The secretary of state and the New York board of commissioners differ in their figures for various nationalities and consequently in their totals. The figures given in Le Duc's report are at variance with all of these reports; it is evident, however, that they are based on the report of the emigration commissioners and that discrepancies are due to typographical errors and mistakes in addition. The secretary of state reports, by quarters, a total of 278,703 aliens entering the port of New York in 1851 and 284,865 in 1852; the report of the commissioners of emigration gives 289,601 and 300,992 for the two years respectively.

By the above statistics we learn that there is a large proportionate decrease from Ireland, and the southern countries of Europe, while there is a remarkably large increase from Germany, Norway, Sweden, and the northern countries of Europe, where the soil, climate and productions are more nearly allied to that of Minnesota, and other northern inland States of the Union.

The immigration for the year 1853 has been, according to the best information obtained, not far from 300,000, [8] and will show a still larger proportionate increase from northern Europe of that class of immigration particularly desirable for Minnesota. The greater part of the Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes who now emigrate, bring with them not only the means of reaching their respective destinations, and establishing themselves in some honest, if humble occupation, in our cities, towns, and inland counties, but they also bring what is incomparatively [*sic*] more valuable, honesty, sobriety, persevering industry, and mental cultivation sufficient to bring them, after a short residence among us within the benign influence of a Free Press.

This class of immigrants eagerly desire any reliable information of our country, and would naturally prefer and seek that portion more nearly like the land of their nativity.

By leaving pamphlets for gratuitous distribution at the various offices of emigration in New York, written in the language of the emigrant, and containing brief descriptions of our Territory and its advantages, with descriptions of the manner, time, and expense of travel, a wide and salutary influence might be excited.

There are also certain newspapers in Germany for the especial purpose of diffusing intelligence among emigrants, such as the

It is noteworthy that the New York customs-house collector reports no immigrants from Denmark in either of these years, nor any from Switzerland in 1851, whereas the emigration commissioners' report includes all of the countries listed by Le Duc.

[8] Aliens arriving at the port of New York in 1853 totaled 284,945 according to the table in the report of the New York emigration commissioners cited above and 270,725 according to the report of the secretary of state in *Passengers from Foreign Countries,* 1853, p. 10–12 (33 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 78 — serial 723). The latter figure is exclusive of six whose nationality was unknown.

General Emigration Gazette, published at Rudolstadt; the *German Emigrant,* published in Frankfort on the Main; the *Saxon Emigrant,* published in Leipsic. There are also associations in various parts of Germany, called Associations for the Protection of Emigrants, whose business it is to give all aid, information and assistance to the emigrant which may be useful in enabling him to establish himself satisfactorily in the new home he seeks. The Leipsic Association for Emigrants is the best and most widely extended of any of its kind, and it has branches all over Germany, and exercises an immense influence.

With these facts, I submit to the consideration of your Excellency, whether it is advisable to recommend legislative action to be taken to influence foreign emigration toward Minnesota.

Respectfully, &c.,
W. G. Le Duc.

Extract from Governor Gorman's Annual Message to the Legislature, January 18, 1855

[*Council Journal,* 1855, p. 31]

Sound political economy has taught us that population is the basis of wealth and greatness. It is therefore the duty of the law-making power to so frame the political institutions of government as most certainly to secure it. Our agricultural, mineral and manufacturing resources are so abundant, that Minnesota needs no utopian pictures to be drawn to entice to our Territory either population, capital or commerce. We need only a true history of our broad fertile prairies, our woods, lakes, rivers, minerals, pineries, water power and navigation to tempt capital in abundance, and direct emigration to where they can find enough of those advantages combined to satisfy the enterprising of all classes and countries. We need not stop to inquire why it is that thousands of our fathers, brothers and friends can content themselves to stick to the worn out and comparatively barren soil of the old states, rather than seek a home in this invigorating and healthy climate and fertile soil. They will soon find out our facilities for wealth and comfort when we take steps to advertise them. I would, therefore, as the first step to this end, recommend that you take into consideration at the earliest

day convenient, the propriety of appointing an emigration agent to reside chiefly in the city of New York, whose duty it shall be to give to the people correct information of our Territory, its soil, climate, population, productions, agricultural, manufacturing and educational facilities, and prospects. Up to this time our Territory has had mainly to rely upon the faithful pen of visitors and our local press, while most of the territories of the confederacy have been ushered before the civilized world in congressional debates; each and every page of their history published before their organization, owing to the peculiar sensitiveness of the public mind north and south on the subject of slavery. The wealth, beauty and fertility of each hill, mountain, mine, prairie, navigable stream, soil and climate, have been portrayed by the able and watchful senator or representative in Congress, until the reader of our national history in the old world, and elsewhere, is fully informed from reliable authority of all he needs to enable him to make up his mind where he will go to seek a home. While Minnesota came before Congress quiet and unobtrusive, asked for a civil government, and has received it; and has made her way up to her present high position by the force of truth and her own natural resources, fertility and beauty. It is a lamentable truth that the climate of Minnesota is less understood among the masses of the people in the states, than almost anything else connected with her history. During the past year I have received almost innumerable letters from the middle states propounding a variety of questions about our territory, especially desiring to know if our winters are not very long, and so exceedingly cold that stock freezes to death, and man hardly dare venture out of his domicil. This popular error among the citizens of the states must be speedily corrected in some reliable manner.[9] To this end, I respectfully recommend that you take measures to have prepared a brief, well-written pamphlet, giving

[9] The notion that Minnesota was virtually icebound for twelve months of the year was a rather common one and advertisements of the territory therefore laid great emphasis on the fact that the common grains and garden vegetables might be successfully raised there. The other states competing for the immigrant traffic were often accused, sometimes with justice, of fostering mistaken ideas of the climate of Minnesota for their own advantage.

the facts in regard to the soil, climate, productions, agricultural, manufacturing and educational facilities; our growth, population and prospects; which, having your official sanction, will produce such favorable results as have been neither seen nor felt before. Such a brief official history of our territory should be placed in the hands of the people in all parts of this country and Europe through an emigration agent; and it is believed that it can be fully prepared by the first of March, and ready for distribution by the opening of navigation in the spring. [10]

[10] No measure was passed during this session which made specific provision for the publication of a pamphlet about Minnesota Territory, although the commissioner of emigration provided for by the act of March 3 was authorized to insert advertisements in newspapers. Two such pamphlets did appear in 1855, however, under other auspices. One of these, *The Rise and Progress of Minnesota Territory,* was published by Charles L. Emerson, editor of the *Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul) and member of a real estate firm. Its sixty-four pages contain a sketch of the territory in general, as well as accounts and statistics of individual counties and towns. The other, the *Minnesota Messenger, Containing Sketches of the Rise and Progress of Minnesota,* a pamphlet of seventy-eight pages, by A. D. Munson, includes similar data. As early as 1849 had appeared a work by the Reverend J. W. Putnam, entitled *Minesota: A Description of the Natural, Political, Mechanical, and Agricultural State of the Country, Presenting Prospects for an Immediate Organization into a Territorial Government, with a Table of Distances* (Galena, 1849). From an incomplete copy of this pamphlet in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin a manuscript copy was made for the Minnesota Historical Society some years ago. See *ante,* 1:67. Among other works on Minnesota published before 1856 are E. S. Seymour's *Sketches of Minnesota, the New England of the West; with Incidents of Travel in that Territory during the Summer of 1849,* a volume of 281 pages published in New York in 1850; J. Wesley Bond's *Minnesota and Its Resources; To Which are Appended Camp-fire Sketches, or Notes of a Trip from St. Paul to Pembina and Selkirk Settlement on the Red River of the North* (Chicago, 1853), a substantial volume of 400 pages which passed through several editions in three years; H. W. Hamilton's *Rural Sketches of Minnesota, the El Dorado of the Northwest* (Milan, Ohio, 1850); and the five annual editions of William G. Le Duc's *Minnesota Year Book,* the first of which appeared in 1851. The newspapers also printed articles from time to time dealing with the history and resources of the territory.

The First Minnesota Immigration Law, March 3, 1855 [11]

[*Daily Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), April 21, 1855]

AN ACT

To Provide for the Appointment of a Commissioner of Emigration for the Territory of Minnesota.

Be it Enacted by the Legislative Assembly of Minnesota Territory:

Section 1. A Commissioner of Emigration for the Territory of Minnesota shall be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislature; said Commissioner shall have been at the time of appointment at least three months in the Territory, and shall hold said office from the fourth day of March next to the fourth day of March, 1856. He shall as soon as practicable reside and keep an office in the city of New York, and for the term of his appointment be present during the usual business hours at such office, and by explanation to individuals who may call upon him, by communications to emigrants and kindred associations, by lectures in New York and vicinity, and by publications in newspapers of the United States and foreign countries, furnish to immigrants all necessary information in relation to the soil, climate, resources and condition of the Territory, particularly designating the branches of industry and business to be pursued therein with advantage, and the cheapest and most expeditious routes by which the same can reach the Territory, and he shall give such further information as will protect immigrants as far as practicable against impositions practiced upon them; and shall report to the Governor quarterly, the number of immigrants sent by him to this Territory, their nationality and branches of business intended to be pursued by them, and

[11] This law is not included in the printed session laws of 1855, undoubtedly as the result of an oversight, and as it was no longer operative after March 3, 1857, it is not included in the compilation of statutes issued in 1858. Nor is the bill to be found among the legislative papers in the Minnesota Archives in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society, which are very incomplete for these early years. The law was reënacted in 1856 with slight amendments: the salary of the commissioner was increased to fifteen hundred dollars and a blanket appropriation of one thousand dollars was made to cover all other expenses, including that of advertising. Minnesota Territory, *Laws*, 1856, p. 20.

to make such suggestions as he may deem important to the Territory; he shall also make a full report to the next session of the Legislature of the Territory,[12] and for his services he shall receive no other compensation, fee or reward, than such as is or may be provided for by law.

Sec. 2. The following sums of money are hereby appropriated out of any monies in the Territorial treasury not otherwise appropriated, or Territorial orders shall be issued for the same, to carry out the object of this act: the sum of $1000 for the salaries of the said Commissioner of Emigration for one year; a sum not exceeding $250 for office rent; a sum not exceeding $200 for office furniture, maps and stationery; a sum not exceeding $300 for clerk hire of said Commissioner, and the sum of $100 for contingent expenses.

Sec. 3. The salary of said Commissioner shall be paid to him quarterly in advance, and the remainder of the sums appropriated shall be paid on the order of the Governor for said purposes, in such sums and at such times as the Governor shall direct, and said Commissioner shall render to him an accurate account of the disbursements thereof.

Sec. 4. The said Commissioner, before entering upon the duties of his office, shall give bond to the treasurer of the Terri-

[12] The commissioner's annual report to the legislature, dated January 14, 1856, is published in the legislative journals. That for the following year has not been located. In his letter of February 6, 1857, Burnand informs the governor that he has sent his report to the legislature, but apparently it never was published. Of the quarterly reports to the governor for 1855 only one has been located; this is dated June 8, just three days after Burnand's arrival in New York. He states that up to June 6, only 52,218 emigrants had arrived at the port of New York as compared with 114,467 to the same date of the previous year. About two thousand had returned to Europe immediately upon their arrival, not because of lack of means, but because they had received the impression that "there was no protection for them in this Country in a political and religious point of view." In spite of these unfavorable circumstances he was preparing measures "to secure to Minnesota as many substantial and able farmers and mechanics" as possible. This report, the letter of February 6, 1857, and a report dated June 8, 1856, are in the Governor's Archives, File no. 573; reports of May 5, February 16, and August 31, 1856, are in Reports of Territorial Officers, File no. 463. The last two are financial statements, the latter of which is accompanied by vouchers for expenditures to that date.

tory with two or more sureties to be approved by the Governor, conditioned that said Commissioner shall faithfully disburse the several sums herein appropriated in accordance with the provisions of this act.

J. S. Norris, Speaker of H. of R.
Wm. P. Murray, Pres't Council.

Approved March 3d, 1855.

W. A. Gorman.

I hereby certify the foregoing to be a correct copy of the original act on file in this office.

J. Travis Rosser,
Secretary of Minnesota Territory.

A Newspaper Editorial, March 16, 1855

[*Daily Minnesotian* (St. Paul), March 16, 1855]

AGENT OF IMMIGRATION

Most of the new Western States have tried the experiment of appointing Agents of Immigration to reside in the city of New York, and devote their time to inducing immigrants who are wending their way westward, to settle within the jurisdiction of their respective agencies. Success, both in regard to numbers and character of the people induced to locate in accordance with this plan of populating the fertile lands of the new States, has been governed by the ability, energy, and associations of the respective agents themselves. If an agent be a man who goes to New York, and has only the qualifications and *taste* — if that be a proper term — to associate with and control the hordes of steerage paupers and transported convicts that are daily thrown upon our shores from the lazar houses and prisons of Europe, it were certainly better that Minnesota should have no Agent of Immigration. But if we have one who is, by education and association, a man of broad and liberal intelligence, and withal a gentlemen, we believe much good, not only to the Territory but to tens of thousands of the human family, may be accomplished by the existence of such an official.

Our Legislature at its late session, created the office of Agent of Immigration for the Territory of Minnesota. The primary appointing power rested with the Governor; and we were pleased

to learn yesterday that he had conferred upon Eugene Bernand, Esq., the position contemplated by the action of the people's representatives. Mr. Bernand is a Swiss by birth — a native of the city of Geneva. He is a gentleman of classical education, and speaks fluently the three great controlling languages of Europe — English, French and German. He has been a citizen of the United States for many years; and at one time undertook the hazardous enterprise, at his own expense, of locating a large colony of his countrymen in the counties of Lewis and Jefferson, in the State of New York. After purchasing the lands, he visited Europe, and succeeded in procuring his colony; but when its members arrived in this country and found that their promised location was upon lands covered with heavy forests of timber, and that "out West" there were millions of acres delivered over by the hand of nature ready for the plow, they started for the Illinois prairies, much to the disappointment and pecuniary disadvantage of Mons. Bernand.

Having finally concluded that the West, and particularly that portion of it comprised within the limits of Minnesota, was *the* place in all the Union to make his final home, Mons. Bernand pitched his tent among us last year. Soon after his arrival here, Rev. Mr. Neill made his acquaintance, and became so favorably impressed with his abilities as a scholar and a competent man, that he offered him the charge of the male department of the Baldwin School. This was declined, on the ground that Mr. B. did not wish to engage permanently in teaching. We are strongly impressed with the fact that Gov. Gorman has made the best possible selection he could, all things considered, by the appointment of this gentleman. He will leave for the East some time during the month of April, and meantime wishes to gather all the information he possibly can in regard to Minnesota and its resources. [13]

[13] In the Governor's Archives, File no. 573, is a letter of Charles E. Clarke, written from Great Bend, New York, October 18, 1854, introducing Burnand to Governor Gorman; according to this, Burnand was a graduate of the University of Heidelberg and in addition to a mastery of French and German had also some knowledge of the Spanish language. After the expiration of his office Burnand returned to St. Paul, where he died on March 6, 1880. For a brief sketch of his eventful and interesting career, see the *Daily Pioneer Press* (St. Paul), March 7, 1880.

Eugene Burnand to Governor Gorman, August 7, 1855

[Governor's Archives, File no. 573 — L. S.]

Office of the Commissioner of Emigration for Minnesota Battery Place N° 1 New York, August 7th 1855

To His Excellency Governor Willis A. Gorman,

Sir,

I beg to enclose a copy of the rules and regulations of Castle Garden, as the Emigrant landing depot.[14] After a perusal of the same you will see the importance of my being admitted within the castle, in order that I may hand or cause to be handed a paper which I had printed for distribution among Emigrants. Under the present circumstances whenever I may wish to visit the castle, I must apply to one of the Commissioners of Emigration who may or may not be willing to give me a card of admission. Therefore I am advised to write to your Excellency on this subject and request the favor of a letter directed to Gulian C. Verplank President of the Board of C^rs of Emigration,[15] stating to him the object of my mission in New York and asking that the Board may grant me free access to Castle Garden. Writing officially as Governor of the Territory of Minnesota, I

[14] In May of this year the New York board of emigration commissioners had succeeded in leasing the building known as Castle Garden, situated in Battery Park on Manhattan Island, and had established there a landing depot. The structure was an historic one, having been erected as a fortress in 1807 and later converted into an amusement hall and indoor garden. The first board of emigration commissioners of New York was established in 1847 as a result of widespread agitation for measures to protect the helpless foreigner from the rapacity, fraud, and misrepresentation to which he was subjected by dishonest individuals and institutions. After Castle Garden was obtained by the board all emigrants coming to New York landed there, and only persons authorized to do so were permitted to enter to sell transportation tickets, solicit trade, and exchange foreign money. In 1890, after the federal government assumed full charge of immigration, the depot was removed to Ellis Island. Interesting pictures of the exterior and interior of the Castle Garden depot are published in the report of the New York board of emigration commissioners for 1868.

[15] Gulian Crommelin Verplanck was president of the New York board of emigration commissioners from the time of its inception in 1847 until his death in 1870. See Charles P. Daly, *Gulian C. Verplanck; His Ancestry, Life, and Character* (New York, 1870).

have not the slightest doubt that the favor will be granted. Mr. Garrigue one of the Commissioners of Emigration and President of the German Society, offered me to present your letter to the Board. Have the goodness to send me that letter, as soon [as] you can conveniently do so. [16]

I remain, Your Excellencys, Most obedient and devoted Servant,

Eug. Burnand

[*Enclosure — Broadside*]

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMIGRANT LANDING DEPOT AT CASTLE GARDEN.

1. All emigrant passengers, on landing at the depot, shall be carefully examined in passing from the vessel to the Castle, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any are liable to be specially bonded, or in such condition of health as to require hospital care.

2. The examining officer shall make careful record of such persons as are liable to be specially bonded, and immediately report to the *Mayor* at his office.

3. The examining officer shall also make record of such persons as require hospital care, and shall have them placed in charge for immediate removal to the appropriate hospital.

4. Before passengers shall be permitted to disperse themselves in the enclosure, each person or head of family shall be properly interrogated in relation to destination, the route of travel preferred, if any, and the means possessed for defraying the expense of transportation; of which proper record shall be made.

5. At the time of making record, or at any other time, such advice and information shall be imparted in each case as may be desired, or as the parties seem to require.

6. No officer or other person shall recommend one route of travel in preference to another, having the same destination, nor recommend the purchase of tickets from one office in the enclosure in preference to another, under the penalty of exclusion

[16] A copy of the letter written by Gorman to Verplanck in compliance with Burnand's request is in the Governor's Archives, Territorial Records, vol. 2, under date of August 21, 1855. Burnand soon after was given permission to enter Castle Garden.

from the depot; provided that such exclusion shall not be taken as relieving an offending party from prosecution, under the laws of the State, for improperly soliciting emigrant passengers.

7. Immediately after examination, the emigrant passengers shall be furnished with an adequate supply of Croton water [17] to enable them to cleanse their persons.

8. The interior of the Castle, and the galleries and promenade connected therewith, shall be free for the use of the recently arrived emigrants, until ready to take their departure.

9. When the emigrant elects to remain in the city of New-York, or its vicinity, he will be permitted to leave the enclosure by the land side, so soon as he has properly cleansed his person with water.

10. The expense of landing luggage from the emigrant vessels to the emigrant depot shall be borne by the owners of such vessels, and the expense of transferring it from the depot to the point of departure from the city shall be borne by the proprietors of the route of travel for which they are ticketed. Such emigrants as remain in the city of New-York shall defray the expense of removing their luggage from the depot.

11. The proprietors of the several routes of travel are required to transport by water conveyance, from the depot at Castle Garden, all emigrant passengers who may have been ticketed there, together with their luggage, to the starting place of such proprietors, and placed in their conveyance free of any expense whatever. In no case shall transportation by land from the depot be permitted, unless the passage by water is so obstructed by ice as to make it imperatively necessary, and in that case the expense of such transportation shall be borne by such proprietors of routes.

12. Before the removal of luggage by the proprietors of any route of travel from the depot, the same shall be weighed, and each piece shall be ticketed to its destination, with a common number for all the pieces of luggage of any one passenger, and a proper check given to each passenger, setting forth the number

[17] In 1842 the aqueduct connecting New York with the Croton River, flowing into the Hudson forty miles above the city, was put into operation. Martha J. Lamb, *History of the City of New York*, 2:730 (New York, 1877).

of his luggage ticket, the number of pieces of luggage, the gross weight, and the charge he is liable to for its transportation to the point of destination. The same to be signed as a receipt for the luggage by a proper agent of the proprietors of the several routes of travel.

13. No person shall be employed by any party occupying an office within the enclosure as clerk, ticket seller, or interpreter, or in any other capacity, unless first submitted for approval to the Commissioners of Emigration, and approbation is given. Such approval may be withdrawn at any time, and the person excluded from the premises.

14. The Committee on the Emigrant Landing Depot are empowered to suspend any officer or employee of the Commissioners, or of any clerk or other employee of other parties, stationed in the depot, for violation of rule; and temporarily to fill any vacancy that may occur in the officers of the Commissoners, and approve of appointments by other parties, subject to the action of the Commissioners.

15. No licensed emigrant runner shall be permitted to enter the premises, under any pretence whatever.

16. No person shall be admitted within the enclosure except the officers, employees, and emigrant passengers, unless on special permission of the officer in charge at the time. A book shall be kept in which shall be registered the name of every person specially admitted, and the time of admittance.

Office of the Commissioners of Emigration,
New-York, June 13th, 1855.

At a Meeting of the Board, held this day, the foregoing Rules and Regulations for the government of the Emigrant Depot, at Castle Garden, were adopted.

Vice President.
Secretary.

Correspondence Between Charles P. Daly and Daniel A. Robertson, 1855 [18]

[*Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), January 26, 1856]

CORRESPONDENCE WITH JUDGE DALY ON EMIGRATION AGENCY — EMIGRATION TO MINNESOTA, &C.

Mr. Editor: — Believing that but a few of the people of this Territory fully appreciate the advantages to be derived from judicious measures for securing a large emigration from Europe, I deem it proper to communicate for publication, the following correspondence with Judge Daly, of the Court of Common Pleas of New York city. The Judge's letter contains many valuable suggestions, which I commend to the favorable consideration of the citizens and presses of the Territory. The object sought is not the service of any party or selfish interest, but the public good of Minnesota only.

Judge Daly is a gentleman of the highest character, distinguished for ability and public spirit; he has traveled over Europe, speaks its languages, and is familiar with the habits, opinions, and literature of that portion of the globe. He owns property here, intends to become a resident, and feels a deep interest in the progress of the Territory. His views are, therefore, entitled to the greatest respect.

St. Paul, Sept. 8, 1855.

Dear Judge: — It has occurred to me that as you feel some interest in the development of our Territory, and are well acquainted with the arrangement existing in your city respecting emigration, to ask you, if your time will permit, to ascertain what has been done for Minnesota in New York. Our Governor

[18] Daniel A. Robertson, who had settled in St. Paul in 1850 where he founded the *Minnesota Democrat,* was at this time interested in land speculation. For sketches of his life and the services he rendered the state, see Charles E. Flandrau, *Encyclopedia of Biography of Minnesota,* 431 (*History of Minnesota,* vol. 1 — Chicago, 1900); Thomas M. Newson, *Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Biographical Sketches of Old Settlers,* 217 (St. Paul, 1886); *Mankato: Its First Fifty Years,* 298 (Mankato, 1903); and the *St. Paul Dispatch,* March 18, 1895. Charles P. Daly was a prominent jurist, geographer, and author of New York. Although he owned land in St. Paul and, it was said, planned to remove to Minnesota Territory, he never did so. *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary*

appointed an agent for the Territory, Mr. E. Burnand, (to whom I have given a letter of introduction to you) to be permanently located in New York, as I informed you on a recent visit to this city, and I am anxious to know what he is doing or what has been done, towards forwarding emigration to this quarter. Is he, in your opinion, the right kind of person, or has he gone to work in the right way? I and many of your friends here, would feel exceedingly indebted if you would make this inquiry. As I know that you are extensively acquainted with the subject of emigration, we would also feel indebted for any suggestions that may occur to you respecting our agency in New York, and upon the subject of emigration generally, upon which, it is important our people should have the most enlightened views.

Very truly yours,
D. A. Robertson.

To the Hon. C. P. Daly, New York City.

New York, Oct. 3, 1855.

My Dear Sir: — I have made the enquiries you suggested, and they are satisfactory; I think you have been fortunate in the selection of your Agent. He is a gentlemanly, well-informed man, whose deportment and manner will inspire confidence. He speaks several languages fluently and seems to be exceedingly well-informed respecting Minnesota. He has established an office at No. 1 Battery Place, close to Castle Garden, which has now become the sole emigrant depot, and I think, considering the inadequate means furnished him, that he has accomplished much more than could have been expected. To direct emigration to Minnesota it is necessary to inform Swiss and German Emigrants, now the principal class, of its advantages before they depart from Europe, for the great bulk and most reliable part of them, those who emigrate in families, bringing with them the necessary capital, determine before they leave home what part of the United States they will go to. To reach this class, information must be disseminated by advertisements in the emi-

of the United States, 2: 324 (Boston, 1900). According to an editorial comment in the *Pioneer and Democrat* for January 26, 1856, the correspondence is reprinted from the *Minnesota Pioneer* for October 22, 1855. No copy of the *Pioneer* of that date is in the newspaper collection of the Minnesota Historical Society.

grant Gazettes of Germany and Switzerland, a special kind of newspaper published for the use of emigrants, of which there are two in Switzerland and five in Germany. Mr. Bernand has advertised in these papers to an extent even beyond the means supplied him, and I send you herewith a translation of his advertisement, which, I think, is a very judicious one. His office is kept open daily, during the regular business hours, and he seems to be constantly employed in furnishing information, besides which he has obtained from the Commissioners of Emigration, access to the emigrant depot at Castle Garden, and the right of communicating freely with the emigrants; a privilege accorded to but very few, and which in his case, I think, is mainly owing to the confidence felt by the Commissioners in his integrity and character. He seems, so far, to have been very successful, and has induced a great many to go to Minnesota. When I consider how crippled he has been for want of means, it is really a matter of wonder, with the active competition that exists here, that he has been able to accomplish so much.

The establishment of an emigrant agent was a very judicious step, but it is not enough. — When you consider that the State of Wisconsin has expended from $20,000 to $30,000 annually, to further emigration to that State, — that she has ten agents; one general agent here, two in Europe, and others in New England and other places: that Canada, to lead emigration thither expends about $25,000 annually; to say nothing of the large sums expended by Railroad and other Companies having lands in Illinois, Michigan and other States, which they are desirous should be settled upon; and that N. York is the focus of all the enterprise and capital, you will see that some thing more must be done by Minnesota — a part of the United States as yet unknown to the great bulk of emigrants, even by name. There has been, moreover, an enormous falling off in emigration this year. — For ten years the stream of emigration has continued unabated and being principally directed to the west, it has been the leading cause of its expansion, wealth and prosperity. The check which has now taken place will soon produce its effect upon every part of the West, and greater effort will be required to induce emigration to particular States and Territories, than was necessary before. The emigration at this port at the beginning of last month, did

not come up to 50,000, while at the same period last year, it exceeded 127,000. It is true that the emigration to Canada has increased over last year; but the surplus there is scarcely one-fifth of the deficiency here. The diminution, this year, in the opinion of the best informed, will be followed by no reaction in the next, but all appearances indicate, that emigration will continue to diminish for some years to come. For this change three causes are assigned. 1st. The war in Europe. 2d. The diminution of the population of Ireland from famine, emigration, and other causes, and the consequent increase in the value of labor; and 3d. The Know-Nothing movement in the United States; the last of which causes is believed to have had the greatest effect.

As respects the first of these causes, it is true, that the three belligerent powers, England, France and Russia, are not the nations from which the most extensive emigration was proceeding, but Austria, Prussia and other of the German States have been compelled, from the hostile state of affairs, to keep large contingents in the field, and the drawing off of so great a body of men, from the pursuits of industry, offers a more extended field and necessity for the labor of the other, while the deranged and unsettled state of affairs, renders it more difficult for those who would emigrate to get the means. — The draft made upon the population of Ireland for the war has also been considerable, and in the enhanced value of labor, the Irish laborer can now do as well at home as he could here. — But these causes are subordinate to the effects produced upon the people of Germany and Ireland, and in fact upon all the emigrating countries of Europe, by the Know-Nothing movement and the aversion and prejudice manifested towards those of foreign birth in the United States and to the indignities and violence to which they have been subject. You cannot open a German newspaper without finding it full of the details of what has taken place and is taking place here in respect to foreigners, the publication of which is encouraged and even paid for by the European governments, now anxious to check emigration, so as to bring republican institutions into disrepute among all classes of their people. In this they are aided by numbers of the liberal and popular writers of Germany, hitherto strong advocates of us and our institutions, but who in view of what has recently taken place

in this country are beginning to doubt the liberalizing tendency of American progress, and to find a contrast between our government in theory, and the illiberality, prejudice and persecution, that has marked the conduct of so many of our people toward foreigners. In Ireland, where the bulk of the population are Catholics, the clergy have united in a body to dissuade the people from emigrating to the United States, upon the ground that there their religion is persecuted by the people more than it is at home by the protestant government of Great Britain. That the intolerance shown by the tearing down of the churches, the unprovoked invasion and burning of their property, — and even where they are not subjected to actual violence their faith is regarded by those who differ with them in religious belief, with that marked feeling of hostility next akin to persecution. In the Catholic countries of Austria, Belgium and the Catholic part of Prussia, similar views are spreading, though the feeling at present manifested is much less in degree.

Throughout Germany the United States has hitherto been regarded with a feeling, that has invested it in the minds of the people, with a kind of poetical interest. Both the educated and uneducated have looked upon it as a land of freedom, where every man was equal, whatever might be his birth-place, his religion or his former condition in society. That he was so regarded and treated by virtue of his rights as a man, exercising equal political privileges, with every field of industry before him, and the certainty of a full and adequate reward for his exertions and labor — that every stranger who was honest and industrious was warmly welcomed — that land was cheap and abundant; and that in climate, fertility of soil, magnificent scenery, &c., that our country was the El Dorado of the earth. To the poetical minded people of Germany there was a charm in our vast forests, sweeping prairies, great lakes, chains of mountains, and mighty rivers, that filled their minds with insatiable longing for the enjoyment of that which in their own tongue is expressed by "the free nature," and this was especially true of the more cultivated classes, who, when the Know Nothing excitement first began to manifest itself, were beginning largely to emigrate.

Much of the public ardor has abated by the knowledge now pretty generally disseminated over Germany, of the hardships

necessarily encountered in western life — of the decimation by disease in unhealthy localities — of the frauds and impositions practised upon their inexperience, and of the great change they experience from dwelling among a people speaking another tongue, who treat and look upon them as inferior, from the imperfect use of the language of the country, and a people whose sentiments, feelings, habits, mode of thought and life, are so distinct and different from what they have been accustomed to in their fatherland. When to this is added the effect produced upon the German mind by the Know Nothing excitement here, its consequences and tendencies, you will see that the desire for emigration will gradually become limited to those whose pecuniary condition at home, is such as to render it a necessity — a class who do not, like the other, bring capital and intelligence as well as labor.

As the principles or views of those who have combined in the Know-Nothing organization would have a tendency, if carried out, to prevent the future growth, development and prosperity of the country; as they are in direct conflict with the causes that have led to our present increase and advancement, especially as exhibited in the extending growth of the West, they can have no permanent duration, but will soon be abandoned. The excitement that produced them will speedily pass away, but the effect this hostile demonstration has produced upon the emigrating classes of Europe will be of longer duration. It has broken the charm which our institutions had in the eyes of the great masses in Europe, and under the most favorable auspices, some years must go by before we can expect a reaction. In the German mind especially, an impression once implanted is not speedily eradicated; and already advantage is being taken of the changed state of things in Germany. An extensive movement is now going on for promoting emigration to the Brazils, which is warmly and earnestly advocated by one of the leading emigrant Gazettes referred to. In addition to which, Austria, now in military occupation of the Turco Danubian provinces, is employing every means to bring about a large German emigration to those rich and fertile agricultural districts. [19]

[19] It is a somewhat remarkable fact that at the very time the Know-nothing movement was in full swing in the East, South, and Far West,

I have already extended the letter so far, that I have not space, nor at present time, to point out, in detail, the measures which I think should be adopted by the people of Minnesota to direct emigration to that Territory. As soon as I can find leisure, I will write you again, giving you my views at length. It is a subject in which every business man in St. Paul, every man interested in land, every man in fact, who desires the increase and settlement of the Territory, has the deepest interest. At present I can but say generally, that the first and most important thing is to have a thorough knowledge of Minnesota, its soil, climate, and advantages disseminated among the emigrating classes of Europe, by means of accredited, reliable, and able organs, written in the language of the people for whom the information is designed. — This has been done most effectually for Michigan, Wisconsin, and other Western States. — From what I have seen and learned of Minnesota myself, I am satisfied that it will bear comparison with the most favored Western States, and that in point of health, it is superior to most of them. But it will not do for Minnesota to rest solely upon this assurance. Emigration, or the means by which emigration is directed to particular quarters of the United States, is now almost reduced to a system, and in the active competition that is going on, she must make use of the sound means that other States are making use of, if her people count upon an increase, at all corresponding with the sanguine views I found entertained by yourself and other leading gentlemen in my recent visit to St. Paul. The mere pittance, which is now devoted to that object will ac-

the states of the Northwest — confronted by quite different economic problems — were actively encouraging immigration. Nativism was not unknown in the northern Mississippi Valley, but the Know-nothing movement won little formal support there. That the western attitude toward immigration on the whole has been liberal is due doubtless to the fact that "cheap land, unlimited opportunities, sparse population, and an unbounded optimism have reduced friction and facilitated assimilation." See George M. Stephenson, "Nativism in the Forties and Fifties, with Special Reference to the Mississippi Valley," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 9: 185–202 (December, 1922). No book has been published on the Know-nothing movement of the early fifties which brings out the relation between nativism and immigrant settlement in the Northwest; and most of the published studies of Know-nothingism deal primarily with political aspects of the subject.

complish but little. — If the government of the Territory, is at present too poor, or if it will not act in the matter, then the business men, or those whose pecuniary interests are to be advanced by its rapid growth and settlement must organize, as they have done in Wisconsin, and supply the means, when they have found out the way in which they can be used most judiciously. Having some pecuniary interests in St. Paul, though, as you know, it is but little, I should feel called upon to co-operate in any measures to be adopted there to promote this most important object, and every assistance in the way of obtaining assistance or information here, I will most cheerfully render, so far as I can find leisure, amid my weighty public duties.

I remain, as ever, Most truly yours,

Chas. F. [*P.*] Daly.

Col. D. A. Robertson, St. Paul.

Annual Report to the Legislature of the Commissioner of Emigration, 1856 [20]

[*Council Journal*, 1856, p. 61–63]

Minnesota Territory, St. Paul, January 14, 1856.

To the Honorable, the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Minnesota:

In compliance with the first section of an Act passed by the Legislative Assembly of Minnesota, providing for the appointment of a Commissioner of Emigration for the Territory, which makes it the duty of said Commissioner to report annually to the Legislature, I beg to make the following statement.

According to the provisions of the act above mentioned, I ought to have been in New York at an early day after the 4th of March, 1855. In the absence, however, of any funds in the hands of the Territorial Treasurer, Warrants were issued to me, which remained unavailable till the 20th of May, when a part of them, amounting to three hundred and twenty-five dollars, were redeemed by certain county Treasurers. Insufficient as this sum was, I left St. Paul for New York, where I arrived on the 5th of June. It is to be regretted that so much valuable time was

[20] The report is printed also in the *House Journal*, 1856, p. 83–85.

irretrievably lost. As soon as it was possible, I opened and furnished an office at No. 1, Battery Place, under the Battery Hotel, near Castle Garden, where, without delay, all the preliminary measures were taken to secure the objects of my mission. The first step I took, was to cause advertisements and editorials to be inserted, not only in German papers published in this country, but also in papers published in Germany and Switzerland.

In these two latter countries, there is a special kind of newspaper exclusively devoted and addressed to the emigrant. The publishers of these papers have an extensive correspondence with the United States, and hence, are enabled to point out to their countrymen the most eligible parts of America for a settlement. Only one of these papers, the "Colonization Emigration Gazette," published in Hamburg, advocates the interest of Brazil, Chili and other parts of South America, and makes it a point to republish anything they can find against the United States. With this exception, all the other papers seem to look upon the United States as the most favorable country to emigrate to. I have corresponded with these papers, and my advertisements now occupy a permanent place in their columns. Occasionally, editorials call the attention of the reader to these advertisements. These articles will be read and pondered over during the present winter by those intending to emigrate, and a most satisfactory result may be expected by next spring.

I would most respectively [*sic*] suggest the propriety of employing commercial firms of Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam, Antwerp and Havre, as agents, with the power of receiving the passage money of emigrants, from New York to Minnesota. These Agents might give the emigrant an order on me which would entitle the bearer to a full passage to St. Paul. I have lately called upon Mr. Marsh, Secretary of the Erie Railroad Co., to whom I broached the subject, and who seemed disposed to make permanent arrangements through me with firms in European seaports in the manner suggested. It is well understood, that these Agents are compensated for their trouble by the competing Railroad companies in this country, always anxious to secure the greatest number of passengers. By the above arrangement, the danger of emigrants to Minnesota being diverted from their route, would be avoided, for, there are al-

ways interested and officious parties in New York, Chicago, and elsewhere, ready to misrepresent the State of affairs here. — Our high northern latitude particularly, has, in many instances, been made a bug bear to the emigrant and frightened him from risking his life among the alledged *mountains of ice* in this Territory.

In addition to the following European Emigration papers, viz:

"Die Sud Deutsche Auswanderung's Zeitung," published in Schwabisch Hall.

"Die Hansa," Hamburg.

"Die Bremen Auswanderung's Zeitung," Bremen.

"Die Allgemeine Auswanderung's Zeitung," Rudolstadt, Saxony.

"Die Schweizer Auswanderung's Zeitung," Switzerland.

I have employed the following papers in this country;

"Die Neue Zeit," New York.

"Die Handels Zeitung," New York.

"Die New York Abendzeitung," New York.

"Die N. Y. Demokrat," New York.

"Der Unentgeldlicher Wegweise," New York.

The last named paper contains a lengthy advertisement descriptive of the resources of Minnesota. Three thousand copies are sent weekly to European seaports, and there distributed among emigrants. This paper being a mere sheet of advertisements, suffers no difficulty in its distribution and circulation throughout Germany, whereas a political paper, published in this country, would immediately attract the attention of the police and be entirely excluded from the Territories of the German majesties, from the King of Prussia down to any petty Prince of the Germanic confederation.

Your Honorable body will at once perceive the impropriety of your Commissioner assuming the position of a mere runner, [21] always ready to fight or grasp the emigrant by his collar, is an argument *ad rem* surely, but disgraceful and of no avail to one

[21] "Runners" were persons employed by boarding-house keepers and transportation companies to meet the emigrant and strike a bargain with him as advantageous as possible to the agencies by whom they were employed. Richmond Mayo Smith, *Emigration and Immigration,* 118 (New York, 1890).

in my position; yet many persons seem to be impressed with the preposterous idea, that it is one of the first duties of the Commissioner to board ships, or be watching the landing of emigrants at Castle Garden.

Emigration in 1855, has dwindled down to about one third of what it was in 1854.[22] The Know Nothings pretend that their political doctrines, subversive as they are of all the principles that have hitherto governed this Republic and elevated it to the unrivalled position it now occupies among nations, have nothing to do with this unprecedented diminution. They further say, that immigration into the British Provinces has proportionally decreased; but unfortunately for the solidity of their reasoning, and veracity of their statements the official returns of the English government show, that the British Provinces had in 1855, 53,183 emigrants, and 36,699 for the previous year. The diminution of emigration to this country may partially be attributed to the efforts made by several South American governments to attract German settlers. It has been said that Wisconsin at present has no Agent in New York. This is not so. The office of Commissioners of emigration for Wisconsin, after having been of immense service to that State, has been legally abolished, but *de facto* maintained. After the astonishing influx of foreign immigration, after so much wealth had been brought to and developed in that State, the office was by many no longer considered necessary; others differed from this view of the subject, and the Agency was continued and the expenses defrayed by private individuals. Mr. Schette is yet the Agent, and has his office in Greenwich street, N. Y. Canada has also thought proper to send an agent to Europe.

During the present season, I sent a number of individuals to Minnesota, more or less able, some of whom were farmers, others

[22] The New York emigration commissioners report 136,233 alien arrivals at the port of New York in 1855 as compared with 319,223 in the previous year. The total alien immigration into all ports of the United States, according to the report of the secretary of state, was 427,833 in 1854 and 200,877 in 1855. *Passengers Arriving in the United States,* 1854, p. 39; 1855, p. 38 (33 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 77; 34 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 29 — serials 788, 851).

mechanics. Among the latter, are blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, tanners, glovemakers, painters, lock and gunsmiths, and dressmakers. I am now negotiating with three different parties who are organizing associations of individuals proposing to remove to Minnesota. Two of these are in Europe, and one in Pittsburgh. The Director of one, in Belgium, informs me that they have a capital of one million of francs. The other European association is under the guidance and direction of the Rev. Mr. Lorring, a clergyman, of the Protestant Church. The Secretary of the association in Pittsburg, with whom I have corresponded, informs me that it is composed of one hundred and five heads, all Germans and citizens of the U. S. In his letter to me, he states, that these persons, disgusted with the persecutions of the Know Nothings, have determined to seek a home in our Territory, where, I have assured them, Know Nothingism is hardly known. I hope and trust that I have not mistaken in so saying.[23]

The affairs in my office in New York have been put in the best possible shape, and the results of my mission will, I have no doubt, meet the expectations of the most sanguine. I may add here, that I have availed myself of frequent opportunities to mention Minnesota as a most desirable place for capitalists to invest money. Several gentlemen of large means, who heretofore had no confidence in the security of our laws for the protection of creditors and of titles to property, have expressed to me their intention of visiting the Territory next spring for the purpose of making investments.

[23] This was the Pittsburgh Homestead Association, comprised of German farmers, mechanics, and storekeepers living near Pittsburgh, who had organized for purposes of emigration. A letter to Burnand from this society, dated January 10, 1856, appears in the *Pioneer and Democrat* for January 28 over the signature of L. W. Volkenbeck. The writer indicates his intention of coming to Minnesota Territory in May to choose land for the members of the association; he states that there are 120 of them, that they will want 9,840 acres, and that they have $12,300 with which to purchase the property. "As daily new members join us," he adds, "the number of acres wanted will greatly exceed 10,000." He promises that if the land can be selected, measured, and bought before June 1, fifteen families will be sent at once and one hundred more will come in 1857. Burnand again refers to this association in his report of June 8, 1856. Undoubtedly the "Kolkanbeck" of whom he speaks and the writer of the letter cited above are the same individual. See *post*, p. 201. Information concerning the result of this project is at present unavailable.

The monies provided by the act of the last Legislature for contingencies and salary, have hardly been sufficient. The heavy discount I have been compelled to submit to on Territorial orders has reduced the amount allowed me, nearly one quarter, with the exception of $325,00 collected from certain county Treasurers, and $350, remitted by Messrs. Borup & Oakes, who generously accepted the orders at par. The balance of the Territorial orders issued me were sold at seventy-five and eighty cents per dollar; thus causing a deficiency of over $250,00 in my receipts.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

E. Burnand.

Burnand to Governor Gorman, May 5, 1856

[Governor's Archives, Reports of Territorial Officers, File no. 463 — L. S.]

New York May 5th 1856

To His Excellency Governor W. A. Gorman.

Dear Sir,

Although the time has not arrived when an official report will be required by you, yet I beg to address you a few unofficial lines. My report to you, dated February 16th, in relation to the disposition of the Contingent Fund allowed me for the year beginning March 4th/55 and ending March 4th/56 does not meet the requirements of the law as it does not contain the items of the sums expended with the vouchers thereof. A full account with all the details will soon be sent you. This had been done immediately after my return to New York if unfortunately my trunk containing all my papers with part of my vouchers, had not been lost. I have not given up the hope of recovering said trunk and our friend Wm. S. Hall is instructed by me to sue Mess. Walker & Co. through whose carelessness my trunk was lost. Conscious of your unceasing Kindness and good will towards me, I trust you will excuse the delay.

Immigration to this Country has dwindled down to a small number as compared with former years. However the late conclusion of peace in Europe is expected to give a new impulse to emigration to this country but nothing is left undone in Germany to hinder emigrants to choose this Country for their future home.

With the assistance of Mr. Spelthorn, a friend of Judge Daly, I have published in the French and Flemish Languages several articles on Minnesota and also a small pamphlet in these languages to be distributed in every parish of Belgium. I was lately introduced to Chevalier Bosch Minister of Belgium in Washington who was quite pleased with my account of Minnesota and who promised to assist me as soon as he knew my official position, and that my statement could be corroborated by Judge Daly — Mr. Malli general consul in this city will also assist me to secure to Minnesota Belgian emigration, which is very important now. Belgians have hitherto gone to Green Bay, being unacquainted with the resources and unequalled advantages of our Territory. As soon as the pamphlet alluded to shall be printed in Brussels I will send you a copy of the same. Belgians who come here, have generally large means, make good citizens and although Roman Catholics, are by no means Priest-ridden. [24]

[24] Guillaume Henri Bosch-Spencer was Belgian chargé at Washington and H. G. T. Mali was Belgian consul at New York, according to Adelaide R. Hasse, *Index to United States Documents Relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828–1861,* 1:104,128; 2:951 (3 vols. — Washington, 1914–21). The Robertson Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society include letters which throw additional light on the activities of Bosch-Spencer and others in the interests of Belgian immigration to Minnesota. Three letters written by Bosch-Spencer to Robertson in the spring of 1858 reveal that the former had made a visit to St. Paul during the preceding year and that with Robertson and Judge Daly of New York, he was interested in a plan for inducing Belgians of Green Bay, Wisconsin, who were dissatisfied with conditions there, to remove to Chengwatana in Pine County and to Gand, the location of which has not been ascertained. Robertson had assisted in laying out the former town site in 1856, according to William H. C. Folsom's *Fifty Years in the Northwest,* 277 (St. Paul, 1888). Mark J. Mange, Belgian consul at Philadelphia from April, 1854, to April, 1858, in a letter dated July 13, 1858, informs Robertson that he has promised Bosch-Spencer to lend assistance in getting settlers for Chengwatana and requests further information concerning its location and the terms upon which property is to be sold. Judge Daly, in writing Colonel Robertson about three weeks later, mentions the fact that Mange's services have been enlisted, states that he is influential with the Germans in Philadelphia, and urges Robertson to reply promptly to all communications from him. Apparently all efforts were wasted, however, for the census schedules give a total population for Chengwatana of only fifty-nine in 1860 and ninety-nine in 1870, and none of these in-

The Day before yesterday I mailed to my young friend Miss L. Gorman a new Polka with the pretty name of "Minnehaha Polka" just published and having a great success here

Hoping that Mrs. Gorman, to whom I beg to be remembered, is well I remain your Excellency's devoted and humble Servant

EUG. BURNAND

BURNAND TO GOVERNOR GORMAN, June 8, 1856

[Governor's Archives, File no. 573 — L. S.]

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EMIGRATION FOR MINESOTA, 1 BATTERY PLACE. NEW YORK JUNE 8th. 1856.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOV. WILLIS A. GORMAN

Saint Paul,

SIR;

In compliance with an act to continue in force "An Act to provide for the appointment of a Commissioner of Emigration for the Territory of Minnesota and amendatory thereto" passed last February, I beg to report as follows:

Immediately after my return to New York last February I resorted to such measures that I deemed the most conducive to the successful fulfilment of my mission, such as advertising in this Country and in Europe and employing here suitable persons whose daily walks are among the class of people intending to leave for the West. It required but little foresight or judgment to understand at once the weakness of my situation, and how difficult it would be for me to neutralize adverse elements, or contend successfully against an unfortunate state of affairs concerning emigration, for which surely I can not be made responsible. It is, however, an exceedingly pleasant task for me

habitants were Belgians. Nor can Burnand's efforts to bring Belgians to Minnesota be considered a success, for in 1860 there were still but ninety-four in the state. Wisconsin apparently proved more attractive to them in spite of the difficulties encountered by the Belgians of Green Bay. In 1850 that state had only 45 Belgians; by 1860 it had 4,647, more than five times as many as any other state in the Union and over half the country's entire population of that nationality. At no time has Minnesota attracted large numbers of Belgians, the total at the last census being only 2,056. *United States Census*, 1850, 1860, 1920; Minnesota, Secretary of State's Archives, United States Census Schedules, 1860, 1870.

to be allowed to say, with truth, that no part of the United States is more highly spoken of than our Territory and that in the opinion of men residing here and acquainted with Minnesota nothing in the world can shorten the long and rapid strides this unrivalled Territory is destined to take in the development of its boundless resources. It is a well known fact that Minnesota is yet comparatively unknown in Europe, and that not one per cent of foreign immigrants land here with the idea of going to, and settling in Minnesota.[25] Therefore it is obvious that if foreign and able emigrants are wanted, the Sea Ports of Germany, and, above all, the Ports of Antwerp in Belgium and Ḥavre in France ought to be visited and Agencies there established, as I proposed in the annual Report I had the honor to address to the Legislature of Minnesota in the course of their last session. With such Agencies and an Office in New York an immense number of sound, able and profitable settlers might have been and might yet be secured. Such Agencies have become imperatively necessary since the establishment of Castle Garden as an Emigrant Depot, where emigrants are morally and sometimes physically hindered from visiting the city unless provided with letters directing them to some particular persons. The object of the Commissioners of Emigration at Castle Garden is not always the wellfare or the interest of the emigrants, but rather the obtaining of their money by providing them with passage tickets over some favored Rail Road. I am far from saying that the arrangements of the Castle Garden have not protected and do not now protect the emigrants against the rapacity and villainy of a pack of thieves called "Runners", but it is not less true that the practice of hindering emigrants from leaving the Garden, the present Institution, protective as it is, becomes most injurious to my Office.

It is among the Foreign born Citizens that I have been most successful and I hope that the two Associations, with the Man-

[25] A table given in Appleton's *Annual Cyclopædia,* 1869, p. 352, indicates the avowed destination of foreigners landing at the port of New York from 1855 to 1868. In 1856, out of a total of 141,525 whose intended destination was known, only 427 or less than one-third of one per cent planned to come to Minnesota, while 13,327 chose Wisconsin as their future home.

agers of which I have had a long correspondence, have settled in Minnesota. One is called the "Pittsburgh Homestead Association" with a Mr. Kolkanbeck at its head, and the other the "Cincinnati German Association" composed of some Eleven hundred members under the management of Mr. Pfaender. These two Gentlemen were provided by me with letters of introduction to your Excellency and to several other Gentlemen in the Counties of Nicollet, Lesueur, Fillmore, Winona, Benton & [a]. I have no news from these Associations. A letter only from Mr. Pfaender published in the "New-Yorker Staats Zeitung" states that Kansas and Nebraska ought not to be considered as eligible lands for foreign settlements. [26]

I have had several articles published in Belgium papers well calculated to attract to Minnesota numerous Citizens of the Kingdom of Belgium who now flock to Green Bay. A pamphlet in the Flemish language is now being prepared, which I hope will have a salutary influence in Belgium.

Annexed to the Report, your Excellency will find the names and avocations of such persons that lately called at my office and left for Minnesota. [27]

[26] William Pfaender was at this very time in Minnesota, in charge of a committee which was making a tour of several of the western states to examine sites suitable for a German settlement based on liberalism in religion and politics. When he arrived at St. Paul he learned of the German settlement being founded at New Ulm by members of the Chicago Land Verein, another German colonization society. Pfaender, on visiting this site, was so pleased with it that he immediately entered into negotiations for merging the two companies. The German Land Association of Minnesota, incorporated in 1857, was the result. The first contingent of settlers from Cincinnati came in the fall of 1856; in the spring of the next year between fifty and sixty more arrived. By 1860 the population of New Ulm had reached 635, of whom 382 were natives of German states and 31 were children born in Ohio of German parentage. Milford, near by, had a population of 473, with about the same proportion of Germans as New Ulm. Louis A. Fritsche, *History of Brown County*, 1: 134–138 (New York, 1916); Minnesota, Secretary of State's Archives, United States Census Schedules, 1860.

[27] The list includes 106 names, but in reality it represents a considerably larger number than this, for to a number of them are appended the words "and family" or "and wife." About half were Germans; sixteen were Swiss; fourteen were French; and twelve were natives of New

Should this Agency be continued and renewed for another year I would not accept of the Office of Commissioner under the present conditions, which restrain my operations and compel me to reside in New York. A Clerk at my office, such as my present Assistant, who is perfectly conversant with the affairs of the Agency, and the Appointed Agent allowed to be in Europe with the present sum provided by Law would be sufficient to secure an immense number of emigrants and to, successfully, conteract the disadvantages and injurious effects of Castle Garden in relation to my Agency.

The number of Emigrants arrived in New York to May 26. [18] 56 are 37,324. to the same date 1855. 52,218. The average sum brought out by these people is $98 — per head.[28] There is no doubt that at the close of this year the number of emigrants will exceed that of last year.

I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most Obedient and devoted Servant.

Eug. Burnand

Burnand to Governor Gorman, February 6, 1857

[Governor's Archives, File no. 573 — L. S.]

Office of the Commissioner of Emigration for Minnesota. 1 Battery Place New York February 6. 1857.

His Excellency Governor Willis A. Gorman

Saint Paul

Sir

I have sent my annual report to the Legislature. I made it as concise as possible, for I can not conceal to you, that I am tired in the extreme with my present position and little encouraged to

York. Half of the emigrants were farmers; somewhat less than half pursued some one of the mechanical trades. The list contains the name of Dr. Alfred Muller, who settled first in Stillwater and later, in 1867, in New Ulm.

[28] The New York commissioners of emigration, who prepared statistics in 1856 showing the average amount of money brought into the country by immigrants during that year, found it to be $68.08. This examination was afterward discontinued because of the difficulty of obtaining correct information from the immigrants, who were inclined to suspect the motives of the commissioners. Appleton's *Annual Cyclopædia*, 1869, p. 354.

do any thing required in my official capacity. This, your Excellency will easily understand, for my accounts with Mess. Marshall & Co have been received and I see that I lose not less than $577. 34/100. This sum added to $420.00 lost last year, make $997. 34/100. Through such a loss I am left here with liabilities, which I am unable to meet.

I am aware that it was not in your power to remedy the evil. Mr. de Freudenreich sent me your excellent Message to the Legislature and I am glad to see that you have not forgotten the Territorial Taxes, their collection & [a]. [29]

Allow me to say that if I have just reasons to complain, yet I can not but express to you my deep felt gratitude for the confidence you have placed in me and for many favors received at your hands.

With the highest regard, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient and devoted Servant

EUG. BURNAND

[29] Baron Frederick de Freudenreich accompanied Burnand to St. Paul in 1855. His diaries, covering the period from 1862 to 1870, are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

THE INFORMATION BUREAU

ALBERT MILLER LEA

A dramatic incident is related by Greeley and by other writers on the Civil war that at the close of the Battle of Galveston Major Albert M. Lea, a retired officer of the old army, and then engaged as a civilian in the service of the confederacy, was one of a party which went out to receive the surrender of the Harriet Lane, the ship which had been disabled by the fire of the confederate batteries and gun boats, and on the deck of the Lane, Major Lea found his son, who was Lieutenant Commander of the Lane, lying mortally wounded. At the outbreak of the war the son had elected to remain with the north while the father went with the south. I believe the above is substantially correct. I am enclosing with this a poor photograph I have made of the stone standing at the head of the grave of the younger Lea in one of our cemeteries.

My reason for writing all this to you is that I have been told that the city of Albert Lea, Minn., was named for Major Lea.

I am one of the trustees of the Rosenberg Library of this city and am interested in adding to its collections of historical manuscripts and other material, and we would like to gather some facts regarding Major Lea, who was so long a prominent citizen of this city.

Have you in your published or other material anything regarding Major Lea which would help us out? We will greatly appreciate any help from you on this subject.

J. M. WINTERBOTHAM, Galveston, Texas

Lieutenant Albert Miller Lea became a figure in Minnesota history in 1835, when, as topographer for the expedition which explored a portion of the Northwest under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Stephen W. Kearney, he visited and mapped part of southern Minnesota, including the present area of Freeborn County. Lea's name was given to a lake in this county by Joseph N. Nicollet, whose map of the "Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River" was published in 1843, and the city of Albert Lea was named for the lake near which it is located.

The Minnesota Historical Society possesses the original manuscript of an autobiography of Lea which was published in the *Freeborn County Standard* of Albert Lea for March 13, 1889. In this narrative Lea includes the story of the death of his son after the surrender of the "Harriet Lane." In 1869 Lea presented to the society a little notebook containing his "Journal of Operations on the Michigan Survey" in 1833 and 1834 and his original sketches, made in 1835, of the topography of the region "from the bank of the Mississippi, below Wabashaw's Village, to the mouth of the Raccoon fork of the Des Moines."

The society also has Lea's *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory; Particularly with Reference to the Iowa District or Black Hawk Purchase,* published in Philadelphia in 1836. This pamphlet of fifty-three pages is accompanied by the author's map of the region from Lake Pepin to northern Missouri and from the Mississippi to the Missouri River. The society's copy of Lea's *A Pacific Railroad,* a sixteen-page pamphlet issued at Knoxville, Tennessee, in 1858, is autographed by the author.

An account of the expedition with which Lea explored the present area of northern Iowa and southern Minnesota in 1835 is included in "A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834–1835," by an unknown author, published in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July, 1909. Some information about Lea may be found in the *History of Freeborn County, Minnesota,* by Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge (Chicago, 1911); and in Warren Upham's *Minnesota Geographic Names; Their Origin and Historic Significance (Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 17).

B. L. H.

THE EXCLUDED PORTION OF MINNESOTA, 1858–61

Will you please furnish me with the following data?

What was the western boundary of the territory of Minnesota, up to the time of its admission as a state in 1858?

Was any of the western portion of the territory eliminated when the State boundary was formed in 1858, and, if so, under what government or control, if any, was the discarded strip, up to 1861, when the eastern boundary of the territory of Dakota was fixed by act of congress?

Was the present site of the City of Sioux Falls, S. D., within the territorial limits of Minnesota, prior to 1858?

F. M. Ziebach, Yankton, South Dakota

Minnesota Territory was bounded on the west by the Missouri and White Earth rivers; thus it embraced substantial portions of North and South Dakota and included the present site of Sioux Falls. A map showing the boundaries of the territory and the original counties appears in volume 1 of William W. Folwell's *History of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1921).

On May 11, 1858, Minnesota was admitted to the Union with its present western boundary and the excluded area to the west was left without recognized political existence until March 2, 1861. The following account of the government of Dakota during this period is quoted from a volume entitled *The Territory of Dakota . . . An Official Statistical, Historical and Political Abstract* (Aberdeen, South Dakota, 1889):

The settlers early inaugurated a movement looking to admission as a territory, which resulted in an election in the fall of 1858 for members of a legislative assembly and delegates to Congress, for the latter position A. G. Fuller being named. The legislature met at Sioux Falls in the winter of 1858–59, and elected Henry Masters president of the council, and S. J. Albright speaker of the house. As no governor had been chosen, the president of the council was declared *ex-officio* governor. Congress was memorialized for recognition, but no action was taken by that body, although a bill for this purpose was introduced in the senate. In the fall of 1859 another delegate to Congress, J. P. Kidder, was elected, and also another legislative body, with S. J. Albright as governor. . . . Congress was again memorialized, and Mr. Kidder applied for admission as a delegate, but failed by a few votes. The delay in organizing the territory was because the Republican members of Congress demanded a clause in the organic act which prohibited the taking of slaves into the territory, and no bill was passed until the Southern members retired, just before the inauguration of President Lincoln.

Alpheus G. Fuller was not the only claimant who failed to secure recognition as a delegate from the rump of Minnesota Territory in 1858. William W. Kingsbury, the representative from Minnesota Territory at the time of its admission as a state, did not vacate his seat when the state representatives were qualified on the ground that he had a right to sit as a delegate from that portion of Minnesota Territory left outside of the state boundaries. In the end neither claimant was allowed a seat in Congress. The story of these attempts to seat a delegate for the excluded section of Minnesota Territory is told in the first chapter of volume 2 of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota,* soon to be published by the Minnesota Historical Society; and the contemporary discussion of the subject in the national House of Representatives, which occurred on May 27 and on June 2 and 3, 1858, is recorded in the *Congressional Globe* for those dates.

B. L. H.

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April 6, 1923, and thank you for the satisfactory information it contains, in response to the inquiries I made in my letter of March 24.

My purpose is to establish the identity and location of the first newspaper published within the legally defined limits of Dakota territory. A local historian claims the credit for the *Democrat,* published occasionally in 1859–60 in Sioux Falls. This was before the territory west of Minnesota had a legal existence or defined boundary, and was in no man's land.

The *Dakotan,* established by me at Yankton in June, 1861, was the first paper in Dakota territory.

F. M. Ziebach

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Minnesota in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection (Minnesota War Records Commission, *Publications,* vol. 1). By Franklin F. Holbrook, M. A. (St. Paul, 1923. xx, 675 p. Illustrations.)

The Minnesota War Records Commission has produced its first major contribution to the historical literature of the state's part in the warlike activities of the country in recent years by publishing this volume from the pen of the commission's secretary and director, Franklin F. Holbrook. If the succeeding volumes which this group is expected to complete come up to the standard set by this one, no one will question either the wisdom of the legislature in making the work possible or the good sense and judgment of those to whom it has been intrusted. A scholarly and readable volume, it should appeal both to those who delight in seeing such a task done as it ought to be and to those who read because they are interested in the subject matter.

When two years ago the legislature, in making appropriations for the continuation of the commission's functions, provided by law that the preparation and publication of the story of Minnesota's part in the Spanish-American War and in the Philippine Insurrection must precede any other work, there were many who felt that it was a mistake to require the spending of so much of its meager funds for research in a field which was not included in the original plan. While the primary objections to the change of plan may still hold, there is, nevertheless, one compensation germane to the whole matter: the difficulty of securing adequate material bearing upon events which happened less than a quarter of a century before emphasizes the importance, from the point of view of the historian, of setting in motion all available machinery to preserve those documents which contain the details of Minnesota's participation in the World War before they shall have been lost forever.

This volume has some three-fourths of its pages given up to as complete a roster of all Minnesotans who served in any

branch of the forces of the United States as it is possible to obtain. All essential data available and relating to this service are packed into a few lines printed with each name.

The first portion of the book contains an admirable and discriminating monograph on Minnesota's part in the Spanish War and its immediate resultant, the Philippine Insurrection. After a brief chapter sketching the events accompanying the outbreak of the war, events in which two Minnesotans, Archbishop Ireland and Senator Davis, had notable parts, the state activities are taken up specifically. Chapter 2 tells how Minnesota responded to the call for volunteers; how the three existing national guard regiments became the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Minnesota Volunteer infantries; and how the Fifteenth subsequently was raised and mustered in. Then, each in a chapter, these four regiments are followed until their muster-out; the Twelfth and Fourteenth in their struggle with typhoid and bad food at Chickamauga, the Fifteenth at Camp Meade and Camp McKenzie, and the Thirteenth — from its own point of view more fortunate than the other regiments — in the Philippines.

The seventh chapter contains an account of Minnesotans in other services than what may be called the regular volunteer army. Company G of the Second United States Volunteer Engineers was a Minnesota unit which helped to build Camp Wikoff at Montauk Point on Long Island, did army engineering work in Alabama, and finally helped to make Havana a place habitable for humans. The Forty-fifth United States Volunteer Infantry was one of the units raised to supplement the work of the regular army in the Philippines after the insurrection broke out, and, recruited at Fort Snelling, was essentially a body of Northwest men among whom were a large number of Minnesotans. The Third United States Infantry had been stationed so long at Fort Snelling that it had come to consider Minnesota its "home state," and the people of the state looked upon it as peculiarly their own. Its participation in the land activities in Cuba and subsequently in the Philippines is outlined as a portion of the story.

"Activities and Events at Home," the title of the last chapter, sufficiently indicates the subject matter of this portion of the book: herein figure the Red Cross and other organizations formed

to aid and comfort the soldier; and an account is given of the participation of Minnesota in raising the war loans, and of other activities which, on a much larger scale, were familiar such a short while ago.

The story told in these pages not only holds interest for the student or casual reader of local history but also gives an illuminating cross section of the country as a whole. It is a truism that the people of the United States during the nineties seemed to be aching for a fight and that the Mississippi Valley in particular was afflicted by the *bacillus belli.* Minnesota played true to type. Her people went into the war with a whoop and vicariously bled off the offending humors through the wounds of the few thousand men who actually entered service. It was a little war, but what a tremendous relief!

Minnesota's sons suffered as did those of the other states from the breakdown of the war department with its red tape and its inflexibility. The state demonstrated her pride in tenaciously standing for her "rights," and opposing everything which would seem to derogate from her prestige, and so gave an example, although not a horrible one, of the insufficiency of the volunteer system and all that it entailed in the time of a crisis.

The book has a good index and is illustrated with a few well-chosen cuts. Altogether the Minnesota War Records Commission and its director have every reason to congratulate themselves on their first-born.

Lester Burrell Shippee

Alexander Henry's Travels and Adventures in the Years 1760–1776 (The Lakeside Classics). Edited by Milo Milton Quaife. (Chicago, R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1921. xxxii, 340 p. Portrait, map.)

John Long's Voyages and Travels in the Years 1768–1788 (The Lakeside Classics). Edited by Milo Milton Quaife. (Chicago, R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1922. xxx, 238 p. Map.)

These two volumes are excellent examples of the work of the apprentice school of R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company. The school was founded shortly after the company had suffered from

a strike in order to train boys for the printer's trade, the hope, fully realized, being that the majority of boys thus trained would find employment in the service of the company. The pupils are paid their regular wage as apprentices, but for several hours each day they leave the shop to attend to their schooling, which is directed solely to the end of making them efficient and intelligent printers. At the end of their course of study, there is no compulsion to enter the employment of the company that has furnished them this opportunity to study their chosen craft.

Since the year 1907 the boys have printed each year a little volume which the company distributes to its friends at Christmas time. The first four volumes were of rather nondescript character, reproducing famous speeches, but beginning with 1911 the choice of subject matter for reprinting has been limited to books illustrating the history of the Old Northwest and, in the earlier years, that of the state of Illinois. The titles of the volumes under consideration prove that no narrow local prejudice dictates the present choice. Under the able editorship of Mr. Quaife, who has been connected with this enterprise for a number of years, the series has grown in usefulness to the historian, and it is a pity that the volumes cannot be bought by the general public. The typographical work is always excellent and the binding befits a gift book of this character.

Mr. Quaife always takes his duties as editor seriously, but, realizing that these volumes are being placed in the bookcases of men of business rather than in the hands of professional historians, he has not loaded the pages with footnotes. For the same reason he has not made a slavish reproduction of the original publications. In his introduction to the Henry narrative he writes of his methods: "While faithfully preserving the author's text and footnotes, no effort has been made to repeat the typographical peculiarities of the original edition, for which, presumably, the printer, rather than the author was responsible. On the contrary, the punctuation, chapter heads, and other typographical details of this edition are the work of the present editor; and in a few instances, where propriety clearly dictated this course, obvious errors in the text have been corrected."

For each volume that he has edited Mr. Quaife has written a very readable introduction, and the two volumes under consid-

eration form no exception. The introduction tells what it is essential to know about the author and concludes with some evaluation of the work as a source for history. The character of these introductions may be illustrated by the one preceding the Henry narrative. After the life sketch of the author Mr. Quaife points out that Henry "did not keep a day-by-day journal of events; and that his narrative as it comes down to us is the fruit of his recollections set down at different times during the period of his life subsequent to the conclusion of the travels and adventures which are so vividly described by him. A record thus produced may possess great value, but to all lawyers and all historians it is a commonplace that this value, however great it may be, will be different in quality from that attaching to a day-by-day record of events. The human memory is at best a fallible instrument."

There are errors in the narrative — errors as to distances, dates, and other facts easily learned from other sources. In spite of such errors Henry has been regarded as a trustworthy guide by historians of the standing of Parkman. The close of the introduction discusses this question of Henry's reliability with some care, since his veracity has been attacked recently in a rather unimportant publication. Mr. Quaife's final conclusion is as follows: "For myself, I see no sufficient reason for doubting Henry's honesty, and his narrative itself discloses internal evidence of shrewdness and insight on the part of its author." Besides giving his assurance of Henry's honesty, Mr. Quaife justly praises Henry's literary style, which cannot be easily explained by his education and business experience. "Yet in some mysterious manner Henry had become a master of English and this, his sole production, is literature in the best sense of the term."

Both Henry and Long were engaged in the fur trade around the Great Lakes, which region they came to know well, and much of the early information found in the histories of the Old Northwest has been drawn from their well-known and much-used narratives. Both men traded with the Indians on the banks of Lake Superior and both used the Grand Portage; and they, therefore, skirted along the northern boundary of the present

state of Minnesota. Neither penetrated farther into the interior, but Henry planned at one time a trading trip to the Minnesota River which he was obliged to give up.

Henry was the agent of a company of Englishmen, one of whom was the famous Charles Townshend of the Townshend taxes, that was formed to exploit the copper of the northern lakes region. His narrative contains considerable information on the enterprise, but much more can be obtained from documents in the Public Record Office in London, for the company was of some importance in the business world and loomed at one time rather large over the political horizon. The reviewer does not remember any careful study of these documents. This enterprise must have had some influence on official opinion in England that may have found expression later in international negotiations concerning the boundary line.

CLARENCE W. ALVORD

Villages of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan Tribes West of the Mississippi (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins,* no. 77). By DAVID I. BUSHNELL, JR. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1922. x, 211 p. Illustrations, maps.)

This volume on the tribes west of the Mississippi is the complement to the one by the same author published in 1919 dealing with the villages, in large measure Algonquian, east of the Mississippi. Naturally, therefore, in the present work Mr. Bushnell devotes most of his attention to the tribes of the Siouan and Caddoan stocks. Of the 185 pages of text, in addition to a few pages of general discussion, 112 are given up to the villages of the Siouan tribes, and about 30 each to those of the Algonquian and the Caddoan groups. In this striking fashion the author brings out the great predominance of the tribes of the Siouan linguistic family in the West and Northwest over those of other stocks.

To students of the history of the Minnesota Indian tribes the sections devoted to the Ojibway (p. 8–17) and to the Dakota-Assiniboin group of Sioux (p. 44–77) will be of particular value. The author has culled his descriptive material from many

different sources and he has worked it into a critical and well-organized discussion of the types of dwellings used by the various western tribes. Copious use has been made of the accounts of Lewis and Clark, Long, Catlin, Maximilian of Wied, and other travelers and explorers who had an opportunity to study the Indians under primitive conditions, and judicious quotations from their writings are presented.

Careful attention has been given also to such valuable sources of information as sketches, paintings, and photographs made by various early artists and photographers, and a goodly number of these are reproduced as plates in the work. Among the unusual pictures so reproduced is a sketch of Little Crow's village of Kaposia on June 19, 1851, by Frank B. Mayer, whose painting of the "Treaty of Traverse des Sioux" hangs in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society. In order that more information about the pictures used may be supplied than is possible in the captions the author has attached to his bibliography a section entitled "Explanation of Plates." Here he not only tells what and where the original is and by whom it was supplied, but he gives also a brief though valuable biographical sketch of the artist or photographer.

Like other publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology the volume is well printed and attractively bound. It is supplied with the necessary aids to scholarship, a table of contents, an adequate index, a list of illustrations, and a somewhat elaborate bibliography. Undoubtedly, it will prove a valuable contribution to the literature dealing with the Indians of the Middle and the Far West.

Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr.

The British in Iowa. By Jacob Van der Zee. (Iowa City, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1922. 340 p. Portrait.)

Careful surveys of the various population elements which have been represented in the development of the states of the Northwest are distinctly worth making. No adequate understanding of the past of such states as Wisconsin and Minnesota, for example, can be had without a knowledge of the part played by the Germans and the Scandinavians. The State

Historical Society of Iowa has given place among its publications to a volume by Jacob Van der Zee on the Hollanders of that state, and now to a book by the same author on the British in Iowa. These two studies suggest the rich possibilities in the cultivation of this field of inquiry, particularly along the lines of social and economic history.

The title of Mr. Van der Zee's new book is a misnomer, for actually the work is not a comprehensive study of the British in Iowa. Approximately 150,000 British immigrants "have helped to swell the population" of Iowa at various times. The reader might be justified, therefore, in expecting to find in the volume a careful study of this movement as a whole, based upon a wide range of sources, with maps showing the distribution of settlement, and with detailed analyses of the separate British elements. Mr. Van der Zee has chosen instead to write an extended essay on the settlement of a few hundred Englishmen in northwestern Iowa, primarily in the so-called "Le Mars Colony." Of 235 pages of text, 199 are devoted to the Le Mars settlement. Thirty-seven pages are given to three introductory chapters, the first of which, entitled "Pointing the Way to Iowa," deals chiefly with the influence of two early guidebooks for immigrants, those by John B. Newhall and Alice Mann. The second chapter is a nine-page sketch of "State Encouragement of Immigration." In the third chapter only eleven pages are needed in which to dispose of the "British Elements in the Population of Iowa." Brief formal statements are made regarding the Irish, the Welsh, the Canadians, the Scotch, and the English. The title of the book, obviously, should have been the "British Invasion of Northwestern Iowa."

The reader at once asks why an extensive study of the Le Mars colony should have been written. The answer is not that this English settlement has left a deep impress upon the social, economic, and political history of Iowa, but that the story of the colony is colorful and that the colony had sufficient homogeneity and enough men of education to leave behind it a fairly full documentary record of its activities. The basis of the book, in other words, is a well-documented dramatic episode. After shedding a tear because of the absence of a full study of the British in Iowa, the reader plunges into an absorbing story

starting with a crack Cambridge crew and involving the land speculations of the Close brothers, the establishment of a colony of Englishmen near Le Mars, the attraction to this colony of a considerable number of people recruited from the ranks of the upper classes in England, the acceptance of young gentlemen pupils in practical farming, — a "troublesome and unprofitable" system which the Close brothers soon abandoned — the games, sports, and diversions of the colonists, and finally the disintegration of the group and the "disappearance of the British from northwestern Iowa." In the colony song the hope is expressed that the boys "may pile up lots of dust and live again upon their native soil." The Close brothers seem to have assembled considerable "dust," but in general the colonists were not conspicuously successful. Many, however, achieved their hope of living "again upon their native soil."

Much attention is given to the social diversions of the colonists, their cockfights, coaching, hunting, cricket, rugby football, and other sports, including that fostered by the "Le Mars Jockey Club." The mass of detail is somewhat disconcerting to the reader, but on the whole the author succeeds in giving a vivid picture of the varied life of the settlers. The land holdings of the Close brothers and of the Iowa Land Company extended into the counties of southern Minnesota. In chapters 8 and 10 considerable information is given about the Minnesota speculations of the Englishmen.

As the reader reaches the end of this entertaining piece of local history, a mystery is solved. The footnotes, 299 in number, apparently could not keep step with the text and consequently dropped out of the march. But after the text has passed, a company of annotations falls in and swings by in numerical order.

Theodore C. Blegen

The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota. Volume 13, number 3. (University, April, 1923. 100 p. Illustrations.)

This number of the *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota* is devoted to a related series of articles on "early conditions of life and living in North Dakota." The emphasis

is upon the pioneer and his work, and most of the articles are written by men who have witnessed the transformation of their state from a lonely frontier to a populous commonwealth. The keynote of the series is sounded by the editor, who obviously idealizes the frontiersman: "All hail! and hats off to those sturdy pioneers — both men and women — who braved danger and hardship and want, hunger and thirst and cold, disease and ignorance and loneliness — all that they might live the full, free life of the open and be true to the inner instinct and settled ideal!"

The historical relations of North Dakota and Minnesota are so close that any adequate account of the pioneer period in the former must necessarily illuminate the history of the latter. Thus in the first article, on "The Pioneer Physician in North Dakota," by James Grassick, a picture is drawn of the frontier doctor and his services. Some attention is given to the individual pioneer physician of Dakota, Dr. William D. Dibb, not Dibbs, as Mr. Grassick spells the name, of St. Anthony, Minnesota, who for three years served as surgeon on the Fisk expeditions in the sixties and a copy of whose diary is now in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. But the chief emphasis is laid upon the services of undistinguished practitioners who, self-reliant, resourceful, courageous, and adaptable, met without complaint the difficulties of attending the sick in every kind of weather on the North Dakota prairie.

A brief article on "The North Dakota Bar of the Pioneer Days," by F. W. Ames, is noteworthy for its entire candor. The author attempts to picture accurately "the early adventurers in practise," and frankly admits that in the territorial period "admission to the bar was a species of humor."

In the article on "Early Politics and Politicians of North Dakota," by George B. Winship, considerable attention is given to Joseph Rolette, Norman W. Kittson, and other well-known figures in early Minnesota. "While Joseph Rolette was a shrewd and adventurous trader," writes Mr. Winship, "he was at the same time a politician of more than ordinary caliber." Mr. Winship's general conclusion is of interest. He believes that in the early days of statehood there were "few really constructive minds to tackle the problems of rudimentary state government.

. . . There were comparatively few who possesst the elements of creative statesmanship and had vision enough to build constructively and progressively. Too many went into politics for sport or gain."

A number of "Tales of the Early Settlers" have been assembled by J. H. Shepperd. "Early Banking in North Dakota" is discussed by Samuel Torgerson, and "Early Religious Activities" by the Reverend Charles H. Phillips. The story of "The Pioneer Farmer" is told by John W. Scott, who came to the Red River Valley in 1879.

Although these articles do not constitute critical history, they are distinctly worth while as interesting and informing documents on the history of North Dakota.

T. C. B.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The second State Historical Convention, which was held at Redwood Falls on June 22 and 23, was a great success from every point of view. Perhaps the most noteworthy features of the convention and of the tour preceding it were the cordial reception of the visitors by the people of the Minnesota Valley and the genuine interest in local history which was manifested in this part of the state. The press carried full reports of the tour and of the convention to all parts of the state, and thus it is not inaccurate to say, as one delegate expressed it, that the society "went out among the people of Minnesota, calling attention to the history of the state and to the importance of preserving the records of Minnesota's development." A full account of the Sioux Historic Trail tour and of the meeting at Redwood Falls will appear in the next number of the BULLETIN.

The number of contributing-life members was increased to nineteen during the three months ending June 30, 1923, by the transfer to this class of the following nine life members: Swen Bernard and William W. Cutler of St. Paul; George W. Buck and John Hearding of Duluth; John B. Gilfillan of Minneapolis; Dr. Charles H. Mayo and Dr. William J. Mayo of Rochester; Augustus S. Prescott of Sheldon, Iowa; and Dr. Rudolph Schiffmann of Pasadena, California. The additions to the active membership during the quarter numbered thirty, which bring the total to 1,081. In the following list the names of the new members are grouped by counties:

CLAY: Grosvenor D. McCubrey of Moorhead.

HENNEPIN: Albro A. Baker, Stanley H. Bezoier, Margaret C. Burrill, Charles A. Davis, Willis Drummond, George Hauenstein, Dr. Peter M. Holl, Mrs. Hortense Moos, Dr. Louis C. Moos, John H. Riheldaffer, and William E. V. Shaw, all of Minneapolis.

MCLEOD: Harry L. Merrill of Hutchinson.

OLMSTED: Dr. Arthur H. Sanford of Rochester.

POLK: L. Johannessohn of Beltrami.

Ramsey: Frank E. Balmer, George Heaton, Charles P. Noyes, and Carl O. Rosendahl, all of St. Paul.

Renville: William B. Strom of Hector.

St. Louis: George G. Barnum, Jr., and Herbert Higburg of Duluth, and Charles W. More of Eveleth.

Stearns: Dr. Claude B. Lewis of St. Cloud.

Nonresident: Herbert H. Davis of Placerville, California; John A. Davis of San Rafael, California; Daniel B. Henderson of Washington, D. C.; Thomas P. Martin of Louisville, Kentucky; Mrs. C. E. Smoke of Rudyard, Michigan; and Lew B. Wallace of Hudson, Wisconsin.

The University Club of Rochester took out a permanent institutional membership during this period.

The number of subscriptions to the society's publications from schools and public libraries has been increased to 109 by the addition of seven institutions during the last quarter. These include the public library of Wadena, the public schools of Ely and Biwabik, the state teachers' college at St. Cloud, and the board of education of St. Louis County, which took out three subscriptions.

The society lost six active members by death during the last quarter: John M. Rowley of Duluth, April 19; Douglas Greeley of Virginia, April 24; the Reverend John H. Morley of Denton, Texas, April 28; the Honorable Knute Nelson of Alexandria, April 28; Mrs. Charles L. Alden of Little Compton, Rhode Island, May 20; and Howard F. Ware of St. Paul, June 28. The death of Edgar F. Gould of South St. Paul on February 18 was not reported in the last number of the Bulletin.

Many of the papers in the society's collection of manuscripts are as valuable for North Dakota as for Minnesota history. At the request of Dr. Orin G. Libby, who recently examined some of these manuscripts, photostatic or typewritten copies of several documents have been furnished to the State Historical Society of North Dakota. These include the diary of Martin McLeod; the journal of the Fisk expeditions of 1862, 1863, and 1864, kept by Dr. William D. Dibb; the diary of Samuel R. Bond, kept on

the first of these expeditions; and a number of letters from the Sibley, Williamson, and Taylor papers.

The society has agreed to furnish a series of monthly talks in the interest of Minnesota history to be broadcast by the Minneapolis radio station WLAG. The talks, which occur as a part of the evening program on the third Monday of each month, were initiated by the superintendent of the society on April 16 with a speech entitled "Introducing Minnesota History." This was heard not only in Minnesota, but in Indiana, Wisconsin, and even as far away as New York. The second talk in the series was given on May 21 by the assistant superintendent on the subject, "Capturing Minnesota History." On June 18 the superintendent spoke on "Some Anniversaries of 1923."

During April, May, and June, 10,102 books were served to 1,971 readers in the main reading room of the library. During the corresponding quarter in 1921 the number of books served was 4,634.

The activities of the society will be illustrated at the state fair again this fall by a display in a special booth as part of the general exhibit of the work of the state departments and institutions.

The members of the John A. Rawlins Post, Grand Army of the Republic, of Minneapolis, assembled in the auditorium of the museum on June 27 in order to make a formal presentation to the society of two large framed pictures of the members of the post and a framed membership roster.

The superintendent's class in Minnesota history at the University of Minnesota met in the Historical Building on May 25 for an illustrated talk on Minnesota in 1850 given by a member of the class.

The superintendent delivered the commencement address at the graduating exercises of the Mora High School on June 1, taking as his subject "The Challenge to Democracy." On May 19 he spoke briefly at a meeting in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the First Swedish Baptist Church of St. Paul.

A paper on "Official Competition for Immigrants to the Northwest" was read by the assistant superintendent at a meeting of the History Club of the University of Minnesota on April 14. On June 12 he spoke at the annual picnic of the Redwood County Farm Bureau near Wabasso on the value of local history study and the problem of organizing county history activities.

The curator of the museum gave illustrated talks on "Indian Life in Early Minnesota" to English classes from the Mechanics Arts High School on April 25 and May 2. On May 19 at Fort Snelling he addressed a group of teachers and pupils on "Old Fort Snelling and Mendota." He represented the society on June 22 at a special assembly at the South High School of Minneapolis in honor of Joseph R. Brown. After attending the summer meeting of the society at Redwood Falls he visited Camp Release, Montevideo, Lac qui Parle, and Pipestone and made an examination of the famous quarries at the last-named place.

The librarian attended the annual meeting of the American Library Association at Hot Springs on April 23 to 28.

"Washington and the Potomac: Manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society, [1754] 1769–1796" is the title given to a group of papers published in the April and July numbers of the *American Historical Review*. These papers, which deal chiefly "with the navigation of the Potomac and James rivers, and cover the period 1754–1796," have had an interesting history. They were intrusted to General John Mason of Virginia by George Washington a year or two before the death of the latter. They appear to have been deposited in the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society about 1870, but not until 1922 were they properly identified. The difficult work of editing the documents has been done by Dr. Grace Lee Nute, the society's curator of manuscripts. In her introduction she points out that these newly discovered materials "will prove an unworked mine for the economic history of Maryland and Virginia in the second half of the [*eighteenth*] century; for the antecedents and activities of the Potomac Company; and for chapters in the lives of two great men, George Washington and Thomas Johnson." In all the papers comprise thirty-eight pieces, nearly every one of which has writing by Washington upon it.

Accessions

Shortly after the death of Senator Knute Nelson on April 28 the society announced through the press a plan for assembling a comprehensive collection of papers relating to his career. The nucleus for such a collection — a group of documents on the Nelson-Kindred campaign of 1882 (see *ante,* p. 145) — already had been received from the senator himself. The response to the society's public announcement has been very gratifying. Fourteen papers, all written by Nelson, have been presented by Mr. Luth Jaeger of Minneapolis. These letters, written to Mr. Jaeger when the latter was editor of the Norwegian newspaper, *Budstikken,* of Minneapolis, throw new light on the background of the Nelson-Kindred campaign. Five letters signed by Nelson and one letter addressed to him are the gift of Mr. A. D. Stephens of Crookston; one Nelson letter has been received from Mr. P. Anton Berg of Hawley, and one from Mr. John Booren, Jr., of Stillwater; and Mrs. James T. Morris of Minneapolis is the donor of two. Thus in a short time no less than twenty-three Nelson letters have been added to the society's collection. From Mr. G. D. McCubrey of Moorhead a wooden carving in bas-relief of the late senator has been received. His death mask has also been placed in the care of the society by Governor Preus.

From Dr. Newton D. Mereness, who is calendaring records in the national archives for several historical societies in the Mississippi Valley, nearly five thousand calendar cards for the Senate files of documentary material have been received, including many which are of special interest for Minnesota and northwestern history. For example, one card notes a manuscript "list of names of persons employed in the agency of Lawrence Taliaferro, Indian Agent at St. Peters, between September 1, 1822, and September 1, 1823." Another notes an "Abstract of provisions received of the Assistant Commissioner at Fort Anthony and issued to Indians by Lawrence Taliaferro, Indian Agent at St. Peters, between May 1, 1823, and September 1, 1823."

A manuscript work of 344 pages on the Indians of the Northwest, by Herman Haupt, Jr., has been borrowed from the Newberry Library of Chicago and a photographic reproduction of it

is being made. The manuscript, which is profusely illustrated with artistic pencil sketches, deals mainly with the Sioux and the Chippewa of the Wisconsin and Minnesota regions.

A large number of calendar cards for the American Fur Company Papers owned by the New York Historical Society (see *ante,* p. 142) have been received and indicate that this collection contains invaluable source material for the history of the fur trade in Minnesota. Cards have been secured for letters of the following fur-traders: Gabriel Franchère, Joseph Rolette, Charles Borup, John Livingston, William Brewster, Hercules L. Dousman, James McKay, Kenneth McKenzie, William Aitken, and Norman W. Kittson. Most of the letters in question were written during the period from 1834 to 1847 to Ramsay Crooks, chief factor of the American Fur Company. Some cards also have been received for letters written by Crooks and by Frederick Baraga, the missionary.

Seven papers relating to the fur trade in Minnesota have been presented by Mrs. Edward C. Dougan of St. Paul. The most interesting are a license granted to Louis Dufault in 1821, permitting him to trade with the Indians at Fond du Lac; a letter from Robert Stuart of the American Fur Company to Hazen Mooers, dated August 4, 1826; and an agreement, in French, between Gabriel Franchère of the American Fur Company and a *voyageur* of Montreal, which is an example of the terms under which many Canadians engaged to enter the fur trade in the Northwest.

A number of items of Minnesota interest were discovered by the society's curator of manuscripts, in the manuscript collection of the Missouri Historical Society, which she examined in April. Among the documents which were copied for the Minnesota Historical Society are the following: a portion of a letter in the Forsyth Papers under date of June 3, 1817, which refers to Robert Dickson's influence in the Northwest; a letter from William Laidlaw to J. P. Cabanne, December 25, 1831, regarding the competition between Alexis Bailly and Joseph Rolette on the James River; a letter from Kenneth McKenzie to Pierre Chouteau, November 16, 1831, respecting the prospective settle-

ment of Red River colonists on the Missouri; and a letter from Benjamin O'Fallon to William Clark about an appointment to the Indian agency at the mouth of St. Peter's River, November 29, 1817.

Two commissions of Charles Cavalier, one as territorial librarian in 1849 and the other as collector of customs for the district of Minnesota and inspector of revenue at Pembina in 1850, have been received from Miss Lulah Cavalier through the courtesy of Mr. Melvin R. Gilmore of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

At the invitation of the society Miss Amanda Fairbanks of South St. Paul has written and presented a short sketch of a visit paid by her to Minnesota in 1851. Miss Fairbanks went to Washington, Iowa, from her native state of New York in 1849 and remained there for fifteen years as a teacher. In the summer of 1851 she visited St. Paul, coming by steamboat from Muscatine.

A small collection of papers of Truman M. Smith, including a letter book for the period from 1856 to 1864, has been deposited with the society by the Sibley House Association. Mr. Smith was a prominent banker and business man in St. Paul for many years, and the documents throw light on early financial conditions in Minnesota.

The reminiscences of Mrs. Angelica Gooselaw of St. Vincent, as written down for her by Mr. August J. Lindvall of St. Paul, constitute a valuable addition to the society's source material on the settlements along the Red River, with which region Mrs. Gooselaw has been familiar during her long life of more than ninety years.

The original journal kept by Dr. William D. Dibb on the Fisk expeditions across the western plains in 1862, 1863, and 1864, has been loaned to the society by Mrs. Jeremiah Fitzgerald of St. Paul, a daughter of Dr. Dibb. Photostatic copies have been made for the society's collections and at the same time for the State Historical Society of North Dakota. In 1919, shortly after the publication of a newspaper article based upon the Dibb

Journal, the society secured a typewritten copy of the diaries. See *ante,* 3:96. This copy contains a lengthy description of a lost gold mine, so rich that it was referred to as a veritable "mountain of gold," and this portion of the diary has received considerable publicity. A comparison of the typewritten copy furnished the society four years ago and the original diary disclosed the surprising fact that the entire dramatic story of the gold mountain is a recent interpolation, for no mention of it occurs in the original journal. In the copy the gold story is skillfully interwoven with the diarist's entries for September 1 and 2, 1864. It should be added that an interesting bit of extraneous matter included in the original volume is the record of committee and council meetings of the Catholic Church of St. Anthony from June 18, 1860, to January 7, 1861.

According to a distinquished American historian the rise of sport in the United States in the period after the Civil War is of great historical significance. The frontier, which had been a safety valve for American society, disappeared, and sport provided a new outlet for surplus energy. A document presented by Mr. Arthur G. Douglass of Minneapolis throws light on one phase of the rise of sport in Minnesota. This paper, which bears the date June 7, 1877, contains the articles of agreement by which the Minneapolis Base Ball Association came into being, the signatures of the subscribers, and a record of the number of shares taken and the amount paid by each.

Several interesting additions have recently been made to the society's World War collection. Twelve letters and cards written in 1918 by William McFarland, a Minnesota engineer at Fort Worth, Texas, have been presented by Mrs. Cyrus W. Wells of Minneapolis. Mr. Benjamin Paust of Minneapolis is the donor of a group of fifty papers relating mainly to the Liberty Loan campaigns as carried on in the Minneapolis district. A collection of typed records of the America First Association, covering the period from October, 1917, to May, 1918, has been received from Mr. Herbert C. Hotaling of St. Paul.

Additional records of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Minnesota, comprising sermons, speeches, a history of Shattuck

School at Faribault, and a valuable scrapbook of letters and papers of prominent clergymen of the Northwest, have been received through the courtesy of Mr. Samuel S. Tanner of Minneapolis (see *ante,* 4: 167). The records were in the possession of the Reverend George C. Tanner until his death in February, 1923.

Mr. Swen Bernard of St. Paul has added to his papers already in the custody of the society a manuscript account of the religious training and childhood experiences in their native land of many of the Swedish immigrants to Minnesota. Considerable attention is given to the status of the separatists in Sweden about fifty years ago and to the Swedish Baptists in Minnesota.

A copy of an interesting letter written in 1870 by an early settler of Fergus Falls has been received from Mr. William J. Hamilton of Gary, Indiana. The author was Peter G. Johnson, who was one of a group of six young men from Orebrö, Sweden, who took claims in Otter Tail County in 1869. "I dont like to tell you any exaggerated stories about the future of this place," wrote Johnson, "But I will say as much. It is very possibelt that Main Street will pass close by my Door we have to be very grateful against the giver."

Mention should be made of several accessions of interest to investigators of family records. Manuscript genealogies of the Merrill, Lewis, Hopkins, Crawford, Staples, and Henry families have been purchased from the Reverend Charles N. Sinnett of Fertile. Miss Caroline J. Tucker of Minneapolis has presented a three-page genealogy of the Jones family. At the request of Mr. John K. West of Detroit, who has assisted the society in securing data on the Fairbanks family of Minnesota, Mrs. Julia Spears of Detroit has written and presented a sketch of this well-known pioneer family.

The interest and value of the society's Indian collection have been increased considerably by a number of recent gifts. Mr. Martin Reed of Walker has presented a wooden figure about twenty inches high representing the Virgin and Child, carved by Shoshone Indians. A piece of Pueblo coil-ware pottery, an Indian moccasin last of stone, and several other articles collected

by the late Mrs. Anna K. West of Minneapolis have been received from Mrs. Edward S. Pattee of Minneapolis. The Messrs. James B. and Walter Hewitt of St. Paul are the donors of a beaded buckskin tobacco pouch, beaded knife sheathes, two Indian scalp locks attached to beaded disks of red cloth, a model of an Eskimo *kayak* of skin, and other interesting objects. In the extensive Indian and South Sea Islands collection deposited with the society by Dr. Joel H. Greene of St. Paul are a chief's war bonnet ornamented with buffalo horns, a pipe tomahawk, beaded moccasins of the plains type, and a heavy war club. A very large beaded ceremonial bag and an inlaid pipe of Chippewa make are the gifts of Mrs. Erasmus C. Lindley of New York.

A small framed engraving of Dr. J. H. Murphy of St. Paul, who served as a surgeon with Minnesota regiments during the Civil War, and a framed enlargement of a photograph of his brother, Edward Murphy, a pioneer of St. Anthony, are the gifts of the Misses Adelaide and Harriet Armstrong of St. Paul.

Several additions have been made recently to the society's collection of objects illustrating the history of domestic life. Through the courtesy of Miss Mabel Gardner of Hastings, a number of dresses, hats, shawls, toys, and other items have been received from Mrs. James A. Lovejoy of Minneapolis. Miss Ella A. Whitney, acting for the estate of the late Dr. Cyrus Northrop, has deposited an old-fashioned straight-back rocking-chair, several interesting old dresses and articles of children's clothing, and numerous other items.

A collection of fractional currency notes issued by German municipalities which originally was loaned to the society for exhibition has been donated by Mr. Alfred E. Mallon of Minneapolis.

From the Library of Congress the society has purchased a photostatic copy of a letter of Minnesota interest in the *Courrier des Etat-Unis* of New York for January 12, 1847. Monsieur Lamare-Picquot, a French traveler who visited Minnesota in 1846, wrote for that paper a letter describing the country and its inhabitants. Comments on Chief Little Crow and his family add to the interest of the letter.

A rare circular relating to a famous public printing contest in the territory of Minnesota in 1851 has been received from the Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland. The leaflet is dated St. Paul, January 30, 1851, and bears the signatures of nine prominent Whig members of the legislative assembly.

A printed circular issued in 1858 by the Minneapolis Mill Company, of which W. D. Washburn was the agent, has been received through the courtesy of Mr. Harold G. Rugg, assistant librarian of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. This pamphlet describes not only the potentialities of the mill but also the salubrious climate and rosy prospects of Minnesota. From the Washburn-Crosby Company of Minneapolis has been received a manuscript of six pages in which the history of the company is sketched.

Eight photostatic sheets of the *Bad Lands Cow Boy* for certain issues of 1884 and 1885 have been received as a gift from the Roosevelt Memorial Association of New York. This newspaper is interesting chiefly because it was published at Medora, Dakota Territory, near the ranch of Theodore Roosevelt. A notice signed by Roosevelt of a meeting of the stockmen of the Little Missouri appears in the issue of December 18, 1884.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Lewis F. Crawford of Bismarck, North Dakota, a complete file of the *Good Roads Magazine,* a monthly publication of the North Dakota State Good Roads Association from April, 1921, to November, 1922, has been added to the society's library. Considerable historical material of interest both for Minnesota and North Dakota is included in the numbers of the magazine.

NEWS AND COMMENT

"I do not know of anything that is more fascinating than the game of discovering historical materials," writes Benjamin F. Shambaugh in an article on "Our Relation to History," which appears in the *Proceedings* of the fourth annual conference on Indiana history published by the Indiana Historical Commission as number 17 of its *Bulletins* (February, 1923. 126 p.). "When one starts on such a quest he does not know exactly what he will find, but nearly always he discovers some rich materials — a diary, a bundle of letters, a file of old newspapers, or an historical relic." Dr. Shambaugh points out the fourfold obligation resting upon historical societies: to discover the materials of history, to collect and preserve them, to submit them to critical study, and finally to publish the results. In the same volume a plan for the study of local history in the public schools of Indiana is presented.

A suggestive article on "Coöperation between State Universities and State Historical Societies," by Joseph Schafer, appears in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for July, 1921, which was issued in May, 1923. Dr. Schafer's paper was read at the 1922 meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Iowa City, Iowa.

The presidential address delivered by Dr. Solon J. Buck at the sixteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Oklahoma City on March 29 is published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June under the title, "The Progress and Possibilities of Mississippi Valley History." After pointing out that just as history enables people to orient themselves in the present, so a knowledge of the progress of historical work in the past is necessary for an understanding of the present situation and tendencies in the field, Dr. Buck sketches the development of historical activities in the Mississippi Valley during the last twelve years with special reference to the increased use of certain classes of material for social history, such as detailed election statistics, census data and schedules, county

archives, land records, and family papers. The three greatest needs for the immediate future are more extensive publication of source material, greater coöperation among the workers and agencies in the field, and the wider extension of interest in and knowledge of history among the people. Dr. Buck suggests a plan for the coöperative publication of source material relating to general phases of Mississippi Valley history, and he urges the various institutions to study and adapt to their purposes the best ideas successfully developed by each other. If history is to perform its proper functions in a democracy, it must be carried to the people, and that, in Dr. Buck's opinion, is particularly true of state and local history. This can be done in part through the giving of greater attention to the attractiveness of the publications of historical agencies and their wider distribution to interested people and to libraries and schools where they will be used. The rapid increase in membership of most of the state historical societies in recent years is helping to solve this problem, as is also the increased use of historical libraries. Other methods of reaching the public are the supplying of historical news and material to the newspapers, the holding of meetings or state historical conventions in different sections of the state in successive years, and even radio broadcasting of history talks. The stimulation of the teaching of state and local history in the schools by supplying books and syllabuses is also suggested. Dr. Buck predicts that interest in and appreciation of Mississippi Valley history will increase greatly in the near future, partly because the citizenry of the valley is becoming more stable than it has been in the past — a situation which promises more adequate contributions and appropriations of funds for historical activities. The address concludes with an appeal to members for greater support of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association so that, through an increased membership and an enlarged endowment fund, it may increase its opportunities for service.

In the same number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* there is a suggestive note on "Historical Material in Washington of Value to the State," by Newton D. Mereness, in which attention is called to papers in the archives of the adjutant general, the Indian office, the department of state, the general

land office and the office of the secretary of the interior, the post-office department, and other government offices. From the examples given it is evident that these government records contain a wealth of material on the history of the upper Mississippi Valley, including Minnesota.

In an article on "The Public Library and Local History," in *New York Libraries* for November, 1922, Dr. Augustus H. Shearer explains how a library, by collecting and making available local history materials, can greatly increase its usefulness to the community.

A pamphlet on "Arrowheads and Such," by Paul L. Keil, who writes under the pseudonym of "Pauke," is designed primarily for young collectors of Indian stone implements (New York, 1919. 32 p.). Mr. Keil describes the processes of manufacture, the uses, and the places where such relics are likely to be found. It is to be regretted, however, that the author so definitely encourages the relic-hunters in the unsystematic pillaging of Indian sites which, if properly excavated and studied, might prove of importance.

A "vocational training school" where Winnebago children were taught, in addition to the "three r's," gardening, agriculture, carding, spinning, weaving, and sewing calls to mind a modern government Indian school. Nevertheless, this describes an institution conducted by the Reverend David Lowry and his wife on the Yellow River near McGregor, Iowa, as early as 1840. The history of the school is briefly outlined in the *Minneapolis Journal* of April 15 in an article which includes quotations descriptive of the school from letters written by a granddaughter of the Lowrys.

The visit to St. Paul of Major James McLaughlin, veteran Indian agent and United States Indian inspector, is noted and an outline of his career is presented in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of April 15. The necessity of identifying the Santee Sioux of South Dakota who are to receive annuities accumulated since the Sioux Massacre of 1862 brought Major McLaughlin west to the scene of his former activities. His estimates of the characters of such famous chiefs as Sitting Bull, Gall, and Joseph are set forth at

length in a feature article by Luman U. Spehr in the *Pioneer Press* of April 22. The illustrations include portraits of these Indians and of Major McLaughlin. Some of his reminiscences appear also in the *St. Paul Daily News* of April 22.

Extracts from the diary of William W. Gilbert of Minneapolis, who in 1853 traveled in a covered wagon from Milwaukee to California in search of gold, make up the bulk of an illustrated feature article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 27. A brief account of Mr. Gilbert's experiences also appears in the *Journal* for April 22.

An extensive exhibit illustrating the part played by Swedish-Americans in the history of the United States has been assembled for an international exposition at Gothenburg, Sweden, from May 8 to September 30, according to a report in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 20. Acting under the authority of legislative resolutions approved on April 10 the governor of Minnesota has appointed nine delegates to the exposition.

An historical sketch of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America occasioned by the annual meeting in St. Paul of that organizaton is contributed by Mr. Jacob Hodnefield to the *St. Paul Dispatch* for June 3. The writer devotes considerable attention to the background of the three synods which in 1917 united to form the consolidated body.

It is announced in the *American-Scandinavian Review* for June that Mr. Gunnar J. Malmin, a graduate of Luther College at Decorah, Iowa, has been awarded a fellowship by the American-Scandinavian Foundation under the terms of which he is to make an inventory of Scandinavian archival materials relating to "Scandinavian-American relations." Particular attention will be given to the subject of Scandinavian emigration. The work is to be done under the supervision of the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The 1922 *Aarbok* of the Smaalens Lag (64 p.), edited by Waldemar Ager, contains an interesting paper entitled "When We Came to America," by the Reverend J. A. Bergh, in which is described the journey in 1860 of a Norwegian family to the United States, the final destination being Red Wing.

A valuable book has appeared on *Christian Keyser Preus, 1852–1921,* edited by O. A. Tingelstad and O. M. Norlie (Minneapolis, 1922. 406 p.). The first part of the volume contains nine chapters dealing with various phases of the life of Dr. Preus, who is best known for his work as president of Luther College at Decorah, Iowa, from 1902 until his death in 1921. Chapters on the Preus family by O. M. Norlie and O. E. Brandt, and on the "Professor and President at Luther College," by O. A. Tingelstad, are included. The latter part of the book contains a bibliography of the writings of Dr. Preus and extensive selections from these writings. The volume is a distinct contribution to the history of the Norwegian element in the United States, and is of special interest to Minnesotans because it deals with the father of the present governor of the state.

The Wisconsin Magazine, a new monthly publication which made its appearance in March, apparently will devote considerable attention to historical matters. The first number contains an article on "Nelson Dewey, First Governor of Wisconsin, 1848–1852"; a sketch of "Old-time Taverns in Baraboo Region," by H. E. Cole; an account of "Captain Marryat in Wisconsin," by Milo C. Richter; and a brief study of "Wisconsin Indian Earthworks," by Charles E. Brown. The slogan of the magazine is "Know your own state."

A careful analysis of the social traits of Yankees makes up the third installment of the series on "The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin," by Joseph Schafer, in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June.

Teaching Wyoming History by Counties is the title of a bulletin by Grace R. Hebard issued by the department of education of the state of Wyoming (1922. 38 p.). Numerous suggestions with references to sources of information are made for the study of each county in Wyoming.

The eleventh *Biennial Report* of the State Historical Society of Missouri, for 1921 and 1922, testifies to the aggressive work being done by that institution to develop "state historical consciousness" in Missouri. An increase of eighty-five per cent in membership, the publication of five volumes of the primary sources for the history of the state, and the enlargement of the

society's quarterly magazine are among the achievements which are set forth in the report. It is announced that the society's policy is to exploit "the MEN and WOMEN greatness of Missouri"; not only to advertise its natural resources but to make known the fact that Missouri has produced many national figures; "to firmly establish Missouri's rightful place in the Nation's history"; and to "make her known as the Pathfinder and Founder of the States of the West, the Southwest and Northwest, as well as the Poultry Queen of the Nation."

The story of the building up of the vast bibliographical business of the H. W. Wilson Company of New York, which began with a little bookshop at the University of Minnesota in 1889, is told in a pamphlet issued by the Wilson concern under the title *A Quarter Century of Cumulative Bibliography; Retrospect and Prospect* (1923. 44 p.).

The experiences of the little group of Selkirk settlers who wintered in 1812 near the present site of Pembina, North Dakota, are described briefly in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 8 and in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 13. The narrative, which is marred by a number of errors, is based upon an account of the settlement in a manuscript history of Pembina County, by Mrs. W. W. Felson of Cavalier, North Dakota.

An article about "unwelcome Sioux visitors" to old Fort Garry in 1842, 1863, and 1864, based upon the recollections of a "pioneer woman of Winnipeg who was an actual eye-witness of all the visits described," appears in the *Manitoba Free Press* of Winnipeg for May 5. The Sioux who arrived at Fort Garry in the two latter years came, of course, to seek refuge after their defeat in the great Minnesota outbreak of 1862. One effect of the Sioux War in the Red River Settlement is disclosed by the following comment: "All communication with the outside world . . . through the States was closed and no mails came through for two or three months."

General Minnesota Items

"Seventy-five years ago — a Chippewa-haunted wilderness. Today — a complex civilization with a future which, stirring or dismayed or both, is altogether unknowable. To understand

America, it is merely necessary to understand Minnesota. But to understand Minnesota you must be an historian, an ethnologist, a poet, a cynic, and a graduate prophet all in one." Thus writes Mr. Sinclair Lewis in an article on "Minnesota: The Norse State" which is published in the *Nation* for May 30 in a series entitled "These United States." Mr. Lewis has fashioned a mosaic of many colors. If the separate pieces seem to be selected at random, nevertheless the reader soon discerns the outlines of an intricate design which bears a resemblance to Minnesota.

In an article on the "Geology of the Name Minnesota," which is printed in the *Pan-American Geologist* for May, Dr. Frederick W. Sardeson asserts that "the true natural mouth of Minnesota River appears geologically to be at the west end of Pike Island." He states that the name of the river comes "from two words, *mini,* meaning water, and *sota,* meaning simply 'invisible,'" and concludes that "the somewhat exceptional and remarkable condition of a large island in the Mississippi River, lying in front of, and concealing from canoe voyagers the mouth of a large tributary, the Minnesota River, appears to be the natural feature that the Dakotah tribes described by the name 'mini-sota.'" The article has been reprinted as a pamphlet of nine pages.

Urging the writing down of recollections by pioneers, Mr. Lawrence Hodgson, "Larry Ho," writes in the *Minneapolis Daily News* of June 8: "Some day they will be invaluable to the historian" and will form the basis of a "picture of the struggle, the heroism, the endurance, the conquering spirit of the founders of Minnesota's greatness."

The death of Senator Knute Nelson on April 28 occasioned numerous articles reviewing his long public career or dealing with particular phases of his political experiences. An excellent article on "Incidents in Nelson's Life," by Elmer E. Adams, in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for April 30, throws light on many episodes of interest in the senator's career. An article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 6 by Charles D. Cheney is in part based on that by Mr. Adams. Nelson's own account of his early experiences in Minnesota as told to an Alexandria news-

paper editor is quoted in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for April 29. In the *St. Paul Daily News* for May 6 is a review by J. A. Peterson of two interesting political contests in which Nelson participated, the congressional struggle of 1882, and the senatorial election of 1895.

A number of interesting events occurred in Minnesota one hundred years ago and thus the present year affords an opportunity for the people of the state to celebrate centenaries. One of these, the one-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the first steamboat at Fort St. Anthony, now Fort Snelling, in May, 1823, is commemorated in feature articles published by a number of Twin City newspapers. Jay W. Ludden, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 6, describes the "Virginia," the little vessel which accomplished this feat, and presents a brief résumé of the subsequent growth and decline of steamboat traffic on the Mississippi River. The details of the journey northward and the difficulties encountered by the "Virginia" in crossing the rapids at Rock Island are emphasized in the article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 6. *The Minneapolis Journal* for May 13 prints a narrative from the reminiscences of Captain Stephen B. Hanks (see *ante*, 4:292) which includes stories of the days when rivermen "believed in taking chances" to win a race or to weather a storm. Each of these articles contains a detailed account of the conclusion of Captain Fred A. Bill concerning the date of the arrival of the "Virginia," which is that it landed at Fort St. Anthony on May 10, 1823. He summarizes the results of his investigations on this subject in a communication to the *Journal* published on May 20. Of greater interest, however, is another contribution by Captain Bill, published in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, for April 14 — an article containing a copy of the "enrollment of the Virginia," which was secured from the United States Bureau of Navigation. This official enrollment embodies a minute description of the pioneer vessel on the upper Mississippi. In a "List of the First Steamboats Built and Documented on Western Rivers" received by Captain Bill from the same governmental source and published in the *Post* for May 12, the "Virginia" is the fifty-first and last name.

At the annual meeting of the state society of the Daughters of American Colonists held in Minneapolis on May 23, a paper was read by Dr. Warren Upham on "Early French Explorers of Northern Minnesota, 1660–1743."

The paper on the Minnesota explorations of Long and Beltrami which was presented by Mr. Theodore Christianson at the State Historical Convention in Redwood Falls on June 22 is published in the *Dawson Sentinel* of June 28 under the title, "Long Expedition Camped at Lac qui Parle Lake One Hundred Years Ago." A much briefer account of the 1823 explorations in Minnesota appears in the *Western Magazine* for June. This article, which bears the title "The Long Centenary," is illustrated with an excellent picture of Major Stephen H. Long.

An article on slavery at Fort Snelling by Jay W. Ludden, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for April 15, deals largely with the residence at the post of Dred Scott and with the famous case which resulted therefrom. The author also cites a few other instances of slavery at the fort. A portrait of Dred Scott appears with the article.

An account by August L. Lindvall of the pioneer woman, Mrs. Angelica Z. Gooselaw, whose reminiscences are noted in this number of the BULLETIN, is published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 27.

According to an article which appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 2 and the *St. Paul Dispatch* for May 4, the abortive treaty negotiated by Governor Ramsey with the Chippewa at Pembina in 1851 is not mentioned in most histories of Minnesota and North Dakota. The newspaper writer bases an account of this treaty upon "an old pamphlet just discovered in Fargo, hidden away in an unhonored niche in a library belonging to a fraternal organization." This rare "find" turns out to be an 1856 edition of the well-known J. Wesley Bond's *Minnesota and Its Resources; To Which Is Appended Camp-fire Sketches, or Notes of a Trip from St. Paul to Pembina.* The too zealous reporter was doubtless unaware of the fact that the Minnesota Historical Society possesses no less than three copies of Bond's

book, and that Dr. Folwell made use of this work and other sources in writing the account of the Chippewa treaty of 1851 which appears in volume 1 of his *History of Minnesota.*

The state's sixty-fifth birthday was celebrated by the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers' Association at its annual meeting at the Old Capitol, St. Paul, on May 11. To mark the anniversary the *Minneapolis Journal* of May 6 includes a brief review of some of the more spectacular events of territorial history and an account — in part based upon imagination — of the activities of the two conventions which drew up the Minnesota constitution.

A wild ride over the trackless prairies of Dakota Territory undertaken in 1866 by Samuel J. Brown of Browns Valley to carry the news of danger of an Indian attack is compared to Paul Revere's ride in an illustrated feature article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 15. Mr. Brown's own account of his adventure, which appeared in pamphlet form many years ago, makes up the greater part of the narrative.

The most substantial bit of river history published in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, during the past three months is a serial entitled "Going to Winnipeg on a Steamboat: Incidents from the Diary of a Freight Clerk on the 'Dakota,' Down Red River of the North 51 Years Ago," by Captain Fred A. Bill. A short general history of boating on the Red River from 1819 to the time when the railroad put an end to this form of transportation is followed by the author's personal recollections of the Red River, the Red Lake River, and the towns along their banks from Breckenridge to Winnipeg in 1872. The narrative appears in weekly installments from April 28 to June 9.

The series of articles on the trunk highways of Minnesota by W. H. Brill, in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune,* is continued from April 1 to June 24 with detailed accounts — embodying interesting historical data about place names — of highways 6 to 14 inclusive.

In an illustrated feature article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 29 Mr. H. M. Hiatt of Anoka is credited with proving that the Ojibway Indian known as "Wrinkled Meat" was only

eighty-eight years of age when he died in 1922, although equally reliable evidence in support of the same assertion was produced by Mr. Ransom J. Powell a short time after the Indian's death (see *ante,* 4:293). Both men contend that "Wrinkled Meat" was born about the year of the "great stars winter" in 1833.

"Steel Age Magic Adds Untold Millions to Minnesota's Buried Treasure" is the title of an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* of May 13 about the experiments in concentrating the low-grade ores of the Minnesota iron ranges at Babbitt, one of the new range towns, and at the University of Minnesota. The article called forth a communication, published in the *Journal* of May 27, from C. H. Beaulieu of Le Sueur, in which the pioneer recalls the days when furs were the great source of wealth in northern Minnesota. A brief account of the part played by Mr. Leonidas J. Merritt of Duluth in the discovery and development of Minnesota's iron resources appears, with his portrait, in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for April 13.

A biography of Dr. Cyrus Northrop is being written by Professor Oscar Firkins of the University of Minnesota.

Conditions at the University of Minnesota during the years from 1871 to 1877 are described in an interesting series of reminiscent articles entitled "In the Olden Days," appearing in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for April 17 and 24, and May 1, 22, and 29. The author, Mr. A. M. Welles, was graduated in the class of 1877.

Interest in the presentation of historic pageants has been revived this year, with the result that a number have been produced during the early summer in Minnesota and neighboring states. At Montevideo on June 14 and 15 and at Browns Valley on June 23 pageants depicting the history of the upper Minnesota Valley and southwestern Minnesota were presented. In connection with the annual meeting of the Tenth District Federation of Women's Clubs at Princeton the story of Mille Lacs County was portrayed on June 21. On June 23 a "pageant of progress parade" representing the growth of Minneapolis and the advance of its economic life passed over Lake Street from the Mississippi

River to Lake Calhoun. Pageants in celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the upper Mississippi by Marquette and Jolliet were presented at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and at Montrose, Iowa, on June 17 and 27 respectively. Each of the latter festivals included a review of the events of 1673. A group of "voyagers impersonating the party of Joliet and Marquette" journeyed down the Mississippi from the mouth of the Wisconsin River and was received both at Burlington and at Montrose as part of the Iowa ceremonies.

Among the narratives of personal experiences of pioneers recently published in local newspapers are the following: a sketch of the life of Judge William L. Kelly of St. Paul, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for April 8; a record of Mr. J. H. Carbin's forty years in the United States postal service in St. Paul, in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for May 17; recollections of sixty-seven years in Minnesota by Mrs. Louis St. George of Mendota, in the *Pioneer Press* for April 1; an autobiography of "Budd" Reeve of Buxton, North Dakota, a pioneer who followed the frontier from Indiana to Minnesota and finally to North Dakota, in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 22; and an outline of the career of Mrs. Alice Vrooman Wood, a pioneer business woman of Minneapolis, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 13.

A history of *Minnesota in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection,* a review of which appears elsewhere in this number of the BULLETIN, was issued by the Minnesota War Records Commission in April. In accordance with the provisions of law and with rules adopted by the commission, a free copy of this book is being sent to every school, college, and public library in the state upon receipt of a written request accompanied by ten cents in stamps to cover postage. Two hundred copies have been turned over to the Minnesota Historical Society for exchange with institutions outside the state. To individuals or to institutions not otherwise supplied, the book is available for purchase at two dollars a copy — approximately the cost of printing and binding. Requests and orders should be addressed to the Minnesota War Records Commission, Historical Building, St. Paul.

A useful résumé of Minnesota's part in the Spanish-American War, based in the main upon information contained in Mr. Holbrook's volume, is published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for April 8. The article commemorates the twenty-fifth anniversary of the beginning of the war on April 21, 1898, an anniversary which also has been celebrated by various groups of veterans, including members of the Thirteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, who gave a dinner at the Traffic Club in Minneapolis on April 28 to mark the passing of twenty-five years since the enrollment of the regiment; and St. Paul service men of 1898, who met at the Old Capitol on April 23 to recall their entrance into the war.

Having completed its work on the period of the Spanish War, the Minnesota War Records Commission has returned to its original and major task, the preparation of a history of the state's part in the World War. A series of eight volumes is projected, the first of which, a history of the 151st United States Field Artillery, by Lieutenant Governor Louis L. Collins, is now being prepared for the press. This history of the "Gopher Gunners" will be published in the spring and other volumes of the series will follow from time to time as they are finished. At the present rate of progress, however, which is determined in large measure by the amount of the legislative appropriations, it will take several years to complete the work.

The diary of Colonel George E. Leach of the 151st United States Field Artillery continues in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune* from April 1 to June 10, the date of the final installment. The entire diary, which has since appeared in book form, will be the subject of a review in the next number of the Bulletin.

Local History Items

In the last number of the Bulletin attention was called to a new law authorizing official support of local historical work in St. Louis County. Acting under this authority, the county commissioners on May 8 set aside the sum of sixteen hundred dollars for the use of the St. Louis County Historical Society during

the current year. The appropriation makes it possible for the society to maintain a staff, consisting of the president serving part time and a clerk, and to purchase needed filing cases and record books. Its office is in the courthouse at Duluth.

A successful meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society was held on May 31, when more than one hundred persons listened to papers on "The Doughboy in the War," by Spencer J. Searls; "Jay Cooke Park," by F. Rodney Paine, its supervisor; "Personal Pioneer Reminiscences," by the Reverend Jeremiah Kimball; and "History of the Range Press in St. Louis County," by Peter Schaefer. Photographs illustrating early life in St. Louis County and the county's participation in the World War were exhibited with a stereopticon. The traveling exhibit sent out by the Minnesota Historical Society, which was displayed at the meeting, attracted considerable attention.

Two figures in Minnesota history have recently been honored by Duluth and St. Paul chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution. A memorial tablet erected by the Greysolon Dulhut and the Daughters of Liberty chapters in honor of the explorer Du Luth was unveiled at Fond du Lac on June 14. Addresses were made by Judge William A. Cant of Duluth and Mrs. Marshall H. Coolidge of Minneapolis. A bronze tablet placed by the Nathan Hale chapter of St. Paul in honor of Josias R. King was unveiled at the St. Paul Union Depot on June 6. The tablet bears the following inscription, "Josias R. King of St. Paul was the first man in the United States to volunteer and the first Minnesotan to enlist in the Civil War. Company A, First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, was tendered by Gov. Alexander Ramsey immediately after the surrender of Fort Sumter, April 14, 1861, and accepted by President Lincoln before his formal call for troops was issued, thus giving to the state the honor of being first to come to the front in defense of the Union. Near this spot stood Pioneer Guard Hall where the enlistment took place."

The first installment of a "History of Lac qui Parle and Chippewa Counties," written by M. C. Chamberlain and published in the *Montevideo Commercial* beginning on December 27,

1895, is reprinted in the *Montevideo Daily American* for June 9. For the most part the history consists merely of biographies of early settlers and of brief accounts of events which are noted because they happen to have been the first of their kind in a community. Chapters of the narrative continue to appear in the *American* each day to June 25.

On June 19 the Dodge County Old Settlers' Association held its forty-seventh annual meeting at Hayfield, and members of the similar organization in Kandiyohi County gathered for their twenty-sixth annual meeting at Kandiyohi Beach on Big Kandiyohi Lake. A reunion of pioneers and general home-coming celebration at Virginia on June 16 commemorated the "disastrous forest fire which swept the village off the map" thirty years ago. At the annual picnic of the Hennepin County Territorial Pioneers' Association on June 1, addresses were delivered by Dr. William W. Folwell, Mayor George E. Leach, and the Reverend Charles Fox Davis.

An article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 17, describing conditions in Brainerd about fifty years ago, is based on a new book about the history of Brainerd by Ingolf Dillan (1923. 144 p.), a review of which will appear in a later number of the BULLETIN.

Memories of General Isreal Garrard and of the vast estate and luxurious home and hunting lodge which he established on the shores of Lake Pepin near Frontenac in the middle of the last century are revived in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 20. Among the illustrations is a portrait of General Garrard. Another famous establishment, the stone house built for Joseph R. Brown near Sacred Heart, is featured in an article on Brown in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 17.

Anniversary celebrations were conducted by a number of Minnesota churches during the past three months. Three churches at Worthington, the Union Congregational, the Methodist Episcopal, and the Indian Lake Baptist, and one in St. Paul, the First Swedish Baptist, commemorated fiftieth anniversaries during the month of May. *A Memorial Sketch of the First Swedish Baptist Church, St. Paul, Minnesota, Fifty Years*

1873–1923 (115 p.) has been issued in connection with the latter event. This compact and informing little volume was prepared under the supervision of an "historical committee" of eight members of the congregation. On June 10 the Emmanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Paul celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. The week of April 22 was a festival week at St. Mark's Episcopal Church of Minneapolis to mark the passing of fifty-four years since its founding. On June 10 the Park Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church of Minneapolis celebrated its thirtieth anniversary. A pamphlet issued in commemoration of the latter event contains a brief history of the church and pictures of its various pastors and buildings (16 p.). The Reverend Carl J. Petri celebrated on May 13 the thirty-fifth anniversary of his arrival in Minneapolis as pastor of the Augustana Lutheran Church. A biographical sketch of Dr. Petri appears with his portrait in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of May 13.

Plans for a new chapel at Fort Snelling to be erected by the soldiers "from sandstone taken from the piers of the abandoned government bridge near the fort" are described in articles in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 2 and 6. Pictures of the present and proposed chapels appear with the latter article, which includes a brief account of the first Protestant church in Minnesota, organized at the fort in 1835.

The fortunes of the old Pence Opera House, Minneapolis' first real theater, are recounted in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 6. Its transformations from a first-class "opera house" into a burlesque theater and, finally, into the home of the Union City Mission are noted, and some of the famous actors who performed there during its prosperous years in the late sixties and the seventies are mentioned.

With a banquet such as it knew in the days of its glory the old Nicollet House, a pioneer hotel of Minneapolis, was closed on the evening of April 19. Dressed in the "pompous swallow tailed coats and four quart hats, the splendidly flowered vests and gay cravats of 1860," the "old timers" of Minneapolis said farewell to the hostelry only a few hours before the wreckers

started to demolish it to make way for a modern hotel. Announcements and accounts of the banquet and reminiscences of the Nicollet House appear in the issues of the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 8, 15, and 20. The razing of the old Merchant's Hotel of St. Paul occasions an article sketching its history in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for June 8.

The collapse of the Brackett Building in Minneapolis on May 5, 1886, is recalled in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of May 6. With a brief account of the catastrophe is published a copy of a drawing of the wreck which appeared in a contemporary issue of *Leslie's Weekly*.

A concise history of the Minnesota Loan and Trust Company in commemoration of its fortieth anniversary is published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 29.

An account of St. Paul's first balloon ascension — in 1857 — and of William Markoe's early interest in aerial navigation is printed in the *St. Paul Daily News* for June 10.

Pictures of members of the St. Paul Guard of 1878 and a brief account of this organization, which is described as the "nucleus from which the present militia system" of the state developed, appear in the *St. Paul Pioner Press* for June 24.

A booklet entitled *The New Century Club, 1887–1922,* by Lily A. Long (14 p.), describes the activities of a women's literary club of St. Paul through a period of thirty-five years.

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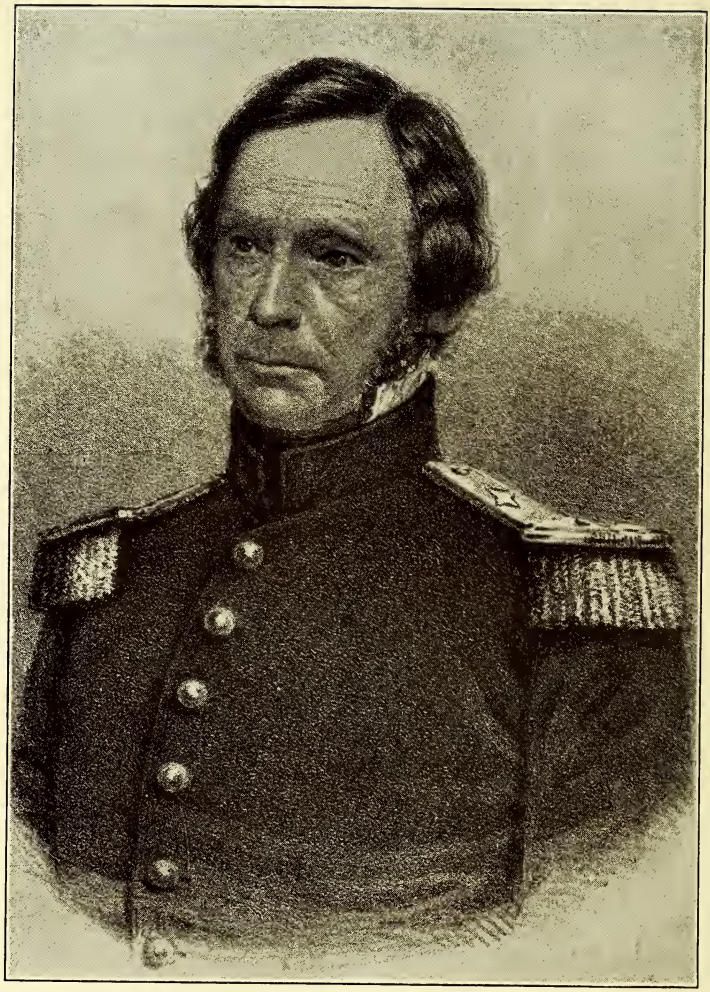

S. H. Long. U. S. A.

THE LONG AND BELTRAMI EXPLORATIONS IN MINNESOTA ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO[1]

On the eighteenth day of July, 1823, a hundred years ago, a party of exploration under the leadership of Stephen H. Long came to the banks of the "Chanshayape watapa," or the stream of the "tree painted red." They stopped at a place about two miles above the junction of the Redwood with the Minnesota, then called the St. Peter's River. The beauty of the scenery appealed to the travelers, who were wearied of the monotony of the prairie. William H. Keating, professor of mineralogy and chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania, who was one of the party and who has given us our best account of the Long expedition in his work of two volumes,[2] describes the scene:

This is a beautiful rivulet, which was about eight yards wide where we crossed it. It runs in a wide and romantic valley. The bluffs which rise on both sides, are formed of a fine white sandstone. We stopped for a few moments on the edge of the bank, previous to descending into the valley, to enjoy the beautiful and refreshing scenery which offered itself to our view, and which formed a pleasing contrast with the burned and blasted appearance of the prairie. The junction of the valley of the St. Peter with that of its tributary, about two miles below the place where we stood, occasioned an expansion of both valleys at that spot. The beautiful and diversified vegetation, springing luxuriantly on the banks of both streams, the rapid current of the waters rushing to one common point, formed a landscape, which, at that time, appeared to us as smiling and as beautiful as any we had ever beheld.

[1] A paper read on June 23, 1923, at the state historical convention held under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society at Redwood Falls.

[2] *Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of the St. Peter's River* (Philadelphia, 1824). A second edition appeared in London in 1825.

The rocky formation made a strong appeal to Keating, who was the geologist of the party. He found near the spot where the two valleys unite an interesting fragment of rock "of an irregular hemispherical form, about forty or fifty feet in circumference," which he believed to have been cleft by lightning. Descending into the valley of the Minnesota from the prairies with a view to selecting a camping site for the night, they found "high rocks of a rugged aspect" which "arose in an insulated manner in the midst of the widened valley, through which the St. Peter winds its way."

"The character of these rocks was examined with care, and found very curious. It seemed as if four simple minerals, quartz, felspar, mica, and amphibole, had united here to produce almost all the varieties of combination which can arise from the association of two or more of these minerals; and these combinations were in such immediate contact, that the same fragment might, as we viewed one or the other end of it, be referred to different rocks." This is the way these travelers of one hundred years ago were impressed with the land which lies at the confluence of the Redwood with the Minnesota.

It was in April, 1823, that Major Long, an officer of the United States Army, received the communication from the war department intrusting to him the command of an expedition which was to carry on the work of exploration begun by Lewis and Clark twenty years previously and continued by Zebulon M. Pike, who led an expedition into the West in 1805. The part of Major Long's instructions that has a special interest to Minnesotans ordered him to proceed up the Mississippi River from Fort Armstrong, now Rock Island, to Fort St. Anthony, later named Fort Snelling, "thence to the source of the St. Peter's River, thence to the point of intersection between Red River and the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, thence along the northern boundary of the United States to Lake Superior, and thence homeward by the Lakes. The object of the expedition is to make a general survey of the

country on the route pointed out, together with a topographical description of the same, to ascertain the latitude and longitude of all the remarkable points, to examine and describe its productions, animal, vegetable, and mineral; and to inquire into the character, customs, &c. of the Indian tribes inhabiting the same."

The party consisted of Stephen H. Long, major of topographical engineers; Thomas Say, zoölogist and antiquary; William H. Keating, mineralogist and geologist; Samuel Seymour, landscape painter and designer; these left Philadelphia on April 30; they were joined in Columbus by James Edward Colhoun, astronomer and assistant topographer. At Fort Crawford, on the site of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, which was reached on the night of June 19, they were reënforced by an escort of a corporal and nine men under the command of Lieutenant Martin Scott. Major Long also succeeded in securing the services of Augustine Roque, French half-breed interpreter, from whom they expected to gain an insight into Indian manners and customs which would otherwise have been impossible. But they were disappointed in the man, whose high reputation for intelligence, Keating remarks, was entirely undeserved. He contributed but little, and left the party at Fort St. Anthony.

Long and Colhoun with three others proceeded to Fort St. Anthony on horseback, under the guidance of a Sioux Indian. The remainder of the party journeyed in a light oar barge with a sail. The land party, after an extremely arduous journey up hill and down valley, through treacherous swamps, in which they frequently became mired, and through dense forests, arrived at the fort on July 2. They had reached Wabasha's village below Lake Pepin on June 28, and Red Wing's village on June 30. At the former they were greeted by a host of yelping dogs which rushed at them as they approached. At Red Wing's village Long found an Indian called "Shooter from the pine-top" who had accompanied him on his travels through a part of this region six years

previously. It was on this previous trip that Long had selected the site for Fort St. Anthony. At Red Wing's village a solemn council was held at which Long carefully explained to the Indians the objects of his expedition. The red men were favorably impressed and agreed to help the whites in their enterprise. A map of the country roundabout produced a great effect on the Indians, who saw something supernatural in the fact that so much information about rivers, lakes, and other geographical features could be preserved on paper or parchment.

Lieutenant Scott, in command of the other group, also encountered difficulties, though of different character. He discovered after leaving Prairie du Chien that while he had been otherwise occupied the men had disposed of a keg of liquor which was on board; they became so intoxicated that only the stern threat of death to the first disobedient oarsman prevented a general mutiny. At that it was found necessary to land for several hours and allow the crew to sleep off the intoxication. Only nine miles were covered on that day. In spite of the difficulties mentioned, however, the trip to Fort St. Anthony was made in seven and a half days, which was considered the shortest length of time in which it had ever been made.

The reunited party remained at the fort for a few days, enabling Keating to see all parts of the establishment. A careful description of it is preserved for us in his narrative. "The quarters are well built, and comfortable," he writes; "those of the commanding officers are even elegant, and suitable for the principal military post to the north-west. There were, at the time we visited it, about two hundred and ten acres of land under cultivation, of which one hundred were in wheat, sixty in maize, fifteen in oats, fourteen in potatoes, and twenty in gardens, which supply the table of the officers and men with an abundant supply of wholesome vegetables."

On July 6 the party walked to the Falls of St. Anthony, of which Keating writes that they had seen few falls which "present a wilder and more picturesque aspect." They had

been told that the river might be forded here and consequently they determined to make the attempt to cross above the falls. They all succeeded in reaching the island above the falls and two of the party reached the eastern bank, but at the hazard of their lives. Although the water was at no point more than two and one-half feet deep, the stone upon which they were treading was so smooth and the current so impetuous that they were in great danger of slipping and being carried over the falls to their destruction. All succeeded, however, in regaining the west shore in safety. Keating in his narrative of the expedition corrects the erroneous statements which previous explorers had made about the width of the river and the height of the falls. Hennepin, who had discovered the falls in 1680 and named them after his patron saint, St. Anthony of Padua, had placed the figure at fifty or sixty feet; Carver, at thirty feet; Pike, in 1805, at sixteen and one-half feet; Major Long, on a previous expedition in 1817, at the same. Colhoun, the topographer of the party, measured it at this time and found it to be fifteen feet. Keating believed the discrepancy between Long's measurement and Colhoun's to be due to the fact that they were probably taken at two different points in the falls. At this time there were two mills here for the use of the garrison at the fort and a sergeant was on guard at all times.

From an old Indian the travelers learned the tale of an incident which is supposed to have taken place at the falls, and which his mother, he said, had witnessed. A Dakota squaw, named Ampota Sapa, or "Dark Day," learned to her great grief that the husband with whom she had lived in great happiness for years had yielded to the importuning of a neighboring family which urged him to take another wife; his friends argued that a man of his reputation and importance, soon, without doubt, to be chief, needed more than one wife to dispense his hospitality. Without mentioning the subject to Ampota Sapa, he took another wife. When she learned of it, she stole away with her two small children to her father's

cabin a short distance away. One morning next spring the sad-hearted Indian wife launched her light canoe, entered it with her two children and paddled down the stream singing her death song. Too late was she discovered — she was beyond the power of rescue. Singing of her past happiness she was carried over the precipice and was seen no more. According to the Indians there could be heard sometimes in the morning a mournful song along the edge of the fall, and its theme was the inconstancy of the Indian husband. Some even have claimed that they have seen her spirit wandering near the spot, with her children hugged to her bosom. "Such are the tales or traditions which the Indians treasure up," says Keating, "and which they relate to the voyager, forcing a tear from the eyes of the most relentless."

The party also visited Minnehaha Falls and Lake Calhoun. They passed under the falls, then known as Brown's Falls, with no other inconvenience than that caused by the spray. The party made every effort to ascertain whether the Indians with whom they came in contact had ever witnessed the fall of meteoric stones, a subject which was then arousing considerable discussion in scientific circles. On being informed of the existence of a painted stone somewhere in this vicinity, they set out hopefully in search of it, but were disappointed to find it merely a boulder of sienite. They learned from conversation with some of the Indians that the latter held the belief that whenever lightning struck a tree a boulder of a black or brown color was deposited at its foot; these were very heavy and had at times been picked up while hot. Long's party was led to believe that these might have been aerolites and that the Indians, having in a few instances picked them up while hot, had mistaken them for the accompaniments of lightning. Colonel Snelling told Keating of an occasion during the previous autumn when he witnessed and heard the passage of a brilliant meteor at the fort. He claimed to have heard it strike the ground and the sentinel at the commissary's store stated that it fell in the public garden bordering the St.

Peter's River. Snelling's efforts to find the meteor proved unsuccessful as did the subsequent attempts of the Long party.

Keating remarks that to one fond of hunting or fishing residence at Fort St. Anthony would be a pleasure. "Catfish has been caught at the falls," he says, "weighing one hundred and forty-two pounds."

When the party left Fort St. Anthony on July 9, it had recruited that well-known trader and interpreter, Joseph Renville, who took the place of the inefficient Roque. Keating's praise of Renville was as generous and unstinted as his estimate of Roque had been harsh and uncompromising. "We have met with few men," he writes, "that appeared to us to be gifted with a more inquiring and discerning mind, or with more force and penetration than Renville. . . . We found him uniformly faithful, intelligent, and as veracious as any interpreter we ever had in our company." Joseph Snelling, son of the commander at the fort, accompanied the party in the capacity of assistant guide and interpreter. A third interpreter named Louis Pellais also accompanied the expedition. Another gentleman who joined the party at this point was Giacomo C. Beltrami. Beltrami was an Italian lawyer and linguist, at one time an army officer and later a civil judge, who had come to America as a political refugee. He was fired with the ambition to discover the true source of the Mississippi, and shortly after his arrival in America traveled down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to Fort Snelling, where he was when the Long expedition arrived. Upon his request he was permitted to join the expedition, but on August 7 he left the party, then at Pembina, and struck out with a guide and two Chippewa Indians to the southeast, where he believed the Mississippi to have its source. He discovered and named Lake Julia in Beltrami County and erroneously pronounced it the source of the Mississippi. He reached Fort Snelling again on September 15, whence he traveled to New Orleans. Here in 1824 he published an account of his supposed discovery of the source of the Mississippi. His account of the

expedition is much briefer than Keating's and not altogether to be relied upon.[3] Long's entry in his diary on the day on which Beltrami left the party is interesting: "Mr. Beltrami our Italian companion, having taken offense at the party, generally, and being highly provoked at my objecting to his turning an indian out of our Lodge, left the party in a very hasty and angry manner."[4] In the correspondence of the governor's office for the year 1869 is a petition signed by Luigia and Linda Beltrami, nieces of the late explorer, requesting financial aid from the United States or from Minnesota as due the heirs of a man who had done so much for that country and state.[5]

But to return to the main expedition. The party ascended the Minnesota five and one-half miles and then stopped at the Indian village of Black Dog on the right or southern bank. Ascending another mile, they came to a deserted Indian cabin, where they made themselves comfortable for the night. The next day they traveled thirty-five miles up the river. The expedition moved in two divisions, one in canoes, the other on land. The canoe party passed two Indian villages, the first of which, Tetankatane, Keating locates near the present site of Savage in Dakota County and the other about twenty-eight miles farther up the river. The canoe party was to have joined the land party at this latter point, but the land party was misguided and the two divisions were not united until the next morning, at a point farther up the river, near the present site of Shakopee.

By July 14 both divisions reached Traverse des Sioux, which was at that time known as "the Crescent, from a

[3] The work published by Beltrami in 1824 was in French; four years later, in 1828, an English version of the narrative was issued in London as volume 2 of *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America Leading to the Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi and Bloody River, With a Description of the Whole Course of the Former, and of the Ohio.*

[4] On his expedition Major Long kept a diary, contained in three little brown-covered notebooks. These books are among the choicest possessions of the Minnesota Historical Society. They cover the entire period of the trip and are replete with maps of great value.

[5] Governor's Archives, file no. 635.

beautiful bend which the river makes at this place." Before 1838, when Joseph N. Nicollet came here, the name had been changed to Traverse des Sioux, "the Crossing of the Sioux," on account of the fact that at this point was the crossing of the river on the much-used trail from St. Paul and Fort Snelling to the upper Minnesota and Red River valleys. The canoe party had covered a distance of 130 miles.

With the exception of a few Indians living in isolated villages along the river, there were almost no living creatures in the Minnesota Valley. The "principal defect," writes Keating, "is the want of objects to animate the scenes; no buffalo ranging across the prairie, no deer starting through the forests, no birds interrupting the solemn stillness which uniformly reigns over the country, the St. Peter rolls in silence its waters to the Mississippi. Where game is scarce, the Indian of course finds no inducement to hunt, and hence the party frequently travelled for whole days, without seeing a living object of any kind." Indications were, however, that "this stream was once inhabited by as extensive a population as can be supported by game alone, in the most favoured regions."

On July 15 the party left the Traverse des Sioux and journeyed in a southwesterly direction for a distance of nine miles. They were now only a short distance from the Blue Earth River, but circumstances prevented a visit to its banks. Their effort to obtain some of the blue earth from the Indians for the purpose of analysis proved unsuccessful. Le Sueur in the year 1700 had built an establishment on the Blue Earth River and had mined some of the earth, which he believed to be copper ore. The Indians of the region made annual pilgrimages to the Blue Earth to collect quantities of the earth on its banks, from which they made dye and paint.

The party encamped on Swan Lake in Nicollet County, so called from the fact that one species of swan — the trumpeter — formerly found in Minnesota, nested here. The Indian name, according to Keating, signified "the lake of the many

large birds." Beltrami in his narrative remarks somewhat impatiently that they might have done some good shooting here but the major was intent only on his compass. At noon on July 16 they struck the Minnesota River at a point a mile below the mouth of the Cottonwood, where they crossed to the south bank. Soon after they passed two Indian lodges.

The journey across the prairies to the Redwood River was a difficult one. They were at some distance from the river; water and wood were scarce; the heat was intense — ninety-four degrees in the shade; and the mosquitoes were a pest; the men lay with their boots on to protect their feet and legs; even then they passed many sleepless nights, so greatly were they annoyed by these insects.

Beltrami gives the significance of the name "Red Wood." "It is so called from a tree which the savages paint red every year, and for which they have a peculiar veneration. It has nothing remarkable to distinguish it from other trees, but every tribe has its favourite images, though they all represent the same divinity, the same object of worship. . . . In this tree they adore the thunder which, as they think, comes from the Rocky Mountains. . . . This wood is situated on the south bank of the St Peter, and another river [*the Redwood*] which flows into it through the centre of the wood descends from the same point."

As the meaning of the Indian name for the St. Peter's River, "Minnesota" or "Mennesota," is a disputed point, it may be of interest to notice that Long interprets it on his map, not as cloudy or sky-blue water, but as "Troubled water riv." He also explains the origin of the name St. Peter's as applied to the river. He says St. Peter's was "a name supposed to have been corrupted from Sans Pierre, which had formerly been given by the French, to this river from the circumstance that no stones are found in it for a considerable distance from its mouth." [6]

[6] The pronunciation of *sans pierre* is like that of *Saint-Pierre,* but it means "without stone," instead of St. Peter, as the latter should be translated.

On the nineteenth the party carried their canoes for a distance of a mile to avoid thirteen rapids in the river, as was the wont of all travelers passing that way, from which circumstance it had for some time been known as Grand Portage. They crossed the Yellow Medicine River, so named by the Indians because of the root of that color which grew in the vicinity, which they believed to have mystical healing properties. Keating records with satisfaction that they encountered some Indians who told them that many buffalo had already been killed on Lake Traverse; these same Indians camped near them that night and treated them to a feast of buffalo meat, in which, however, they were greatly disappointed, regarding it as tough and tasteless. "This disappointment arose, however," Keating remarks, "from the circumstance of its being jerked, instead of fresh meat."

A short day's journey, during which they crossed the Lac qui Parle and Chippewa rivers just above their mouths, brought the party to Lac qui Parle, the French for the original Indian name, "the lake that talks." Keating remarks that they were unable to discern any remarkable echo in this vicinity which might have given rise to the name. Here they noticed a number of graves of a sort much used by the Indians. The corpse was placed in a very shallow grave or on the surface of the ground and a roof of stakes was constructed above it to prevent the attack of wolves, which were very common in the vicinity and which would dig the body up if it were merely buried. In spite of the great strength of the stakes some of the graves had been broken open and their contents scattered.

The party pitched tents on a hill at the lower extremity of Lac qui Parle, where they remained half a day before proceeding to Big Stone Lake. Two young wolves were seen near Beaver Creek, which was the name then given Lac qui Parle River, and were "easily caught by the soldiers, to whom a reward was offered if they would carry them alive to Mackinaw; but they both made their escape during the night."

Keating remarks that "in the dull monotony of a journey across the prairie, destitute of interest, and uninterrupted by any incident, the capture of these wolves created such a sensation in the party as will not be readily conceived by those who have not experienced how eagerly man seizes the first opportunity of being relieved from his own thoughts, when he has been left to the uninterrupted exercise of them for a certain length of time."

At the upper end of the lake they found that the Minnesota had lost all its character as a river; that it was a mere rivulet twenty or thirty feet wide, its waters stagnant and obstructed by the growth of high grass and wild rice. Before reaching Big Stone Lake they observed vast deposits of granite. A very large block had painted upon it, in red, circles, crescents, and crosses, consecrated to the sun, moon, and stars — a primitive altar at which the savage Indian paused to offer his sacrifices to the ruling spirits.

On the twenty-second the party reached Big Stone Lake. At the lower end of the lake was an Indian village consisting of thirty skin lodges, which they visited. It was a temporary camp, the permanent residence of these Indians being on an island directly opposite and a quarter of a mile distant. Here at the Indian camp Long and his men were hospitably entertained; they partook of some fresh buffalo meat, which they relished much more than they had the dried meat of a few days before. Their enjoyment of it was doubtless increased by the fact that it was the first fresh meat they had had since they left Fort Snelling. Before departing, a second meal was prepared for them, and Keating remarks, "We were too familiar with Indian manners, not to know that the excuse of having just eaten a very hearty meal would not be considered as sufficient among them; and so we readily resigned ourselves to the necessity of again testifying our friendly disposition, by doing honour to their meal." It consisted of a white root, similar in appearance to the turnip, which had been boiled down into a sort of mush or hominy. As they were

rising from this second meal they were informed that a third was in process of preparation, this time consisting of the sacred dog meat. But as they were unable to remain until it was finished, they were denied this treat, much to the disappointment of some of the men, who were desirous of tasting the sacred animal.

In the afternoon of the twenty-second they arrived at the American Fur Company's establishment on the western side of the lake, about halfway up the shore. Here they found Hazen Mooers, one of the most romantic figures in the history of the fur trade, who was in charge. Mooers later had charge of the American Fur Company's post at Lake Traverse, and while there he married Gray Cloud, the Indian half-breed for whom Gray Cloud Island in the Mississippi above the city of Hastings was named.

A messenger was sent from the post at Big Stone to that of the Columbia Fur Company farther up on Lake Traverse to announce the approach of the party. This company had been organized only a year before by Joseph Renville and others interested in exploiting the trade of this region, from which the English had been ousted by federal law seven years before. The map accompanying Keating's narrative locates this post on the east side of the lake. According to later writers, it was probably on or near the site of an earlier post of Robert Dickson's, in what is now the northern part of Folsom Township, just opposite Snake Island. It is interesting to note Beltrami's prophecy regarding the Columbia Fur Company: "I think they will be obliged in the end to capitulate with the South-West [*American Fur*] Company, and to put themselves under its protection." Within four years his prophecy was fulfilled; in 1827 the two companies merged.

Long and his party had now fulfilled that part of their instructions which ordered them to ascend the Minnesota to its head. They had yet to proceed to the "intersection between Red River and the forty-ninth degree of north latitude." They were fortunate in having as guides to Pembina one of

the Columbia Fur Company's traders at Lake Traverse and four Frenchmen who were on their return to the settlement at Pembina. Four Red River carts which had previously been used to transport some of the Swiss emigrants from Pembina to Mendota were chartered to convey their baggage and provisions. On the night of July 26 encampment was made on the north extension of Lake Traverse, then known as Buffalo Lake. The next morning as they proceeded down the Red River Valley they came upon herds of thousands of buffalo — the first large aggregations of them they had discovered. They stopped at an Indian lodge where they had a feast of fresh buffalo meat. Here they also had an opportunity to observe how the meat was "jerked." It was cut up into thin broad slices and exposed on poles all around the lodge. Two days of hot sunlight did the work. Keating also describes the manner of curing the skins:

> The green skin is stretched on the ground by means of stakes driven through its edges; then with a piece of bone, sharpened to a cutting edge, about an inch wide, and similar to a chisel, the softer portions on the flesh side are scraped off, and with an instrument of iron similar to the bit of a carpenter's plane, the hair is removed from the outside. If the operation be interrupted here, the product is a sort of parchment; but if the skin be intended for mocassins or clothing, it is then worked with the hands in the brain of animals, which gives it the requisite degree of softness. In order to qualify it for exposure to moisture, the skin is sometimes smoked, but this deprives it of its natural white appearance. . . . Instead of the brains of animals, strong soap-suds could be used in the dressing of the skin, and . . . "young Indian corn, beaten to a pulp, will effect the same as the brains."

The expedition descended the valley of the Bois des Sioux River, the branch of the Red River which rises in Lake Traverse, down the Red River Valley, crossing the Buffalo, Wild Rice, Marsh, Sand Hill, Red Lake, and Snake rivers, and the Two Rivers, just above their mouths. Marsh River was dry at this time as it often is in times of drought. Red Lake River was reached on August 2. In this vicinity they

experienced considerable distress from the extreme changes in temperature during the nights, a drop from eighty-three to forty-three degrees in a few hours being recorded by Keating.

The settlement at Pembina was reached on August 5. A journey of 256 miles from Lake Traverse had been accomplished in eleven days — an average of twenty-three miles a day. Pembina was the settlement made by Scotch emigrants in 1812. Lord Selkirk, who had acquired an enormous tract of land from the Hudson's Bay Company roughly comprising the province of Manitoba and the northern part of the states of Minnesota and North Dakota, hoped to found a colony for evicted Scotch peasants. The attempt was not a success owing to a number of misfortunes which followed each other in rapid succession, and year after year there was an exodus to the more favorable regions on the Mississippi, at Fort Snelling and below. At the time of Long's visit the settlement consisted of about 350 inhabitants, most of whom were half-breeds, ill-suited by temperament and training to farming; consequently, in spite of the good soil not enough agriculture was being carried on to supply the needs of the settlers, who were, therefore, forced to rely largely upon wild game for food. At the time Long's party arrived most of the settlers were buffalo hunting. "The settlement," says Keating, "was in the greatest need of provisions; fortunately for us, who were likewise destitute, they arrived the next day." The procession returning from the hunt must have presented an interesting sight. It "consisted of one hundred and fifteen carts, each loaded with about eight hundred pounds of the finest buffalo meat; there were three hundred persons, including the women. The number of their horses, some of which were very good, was not under two hundred. Twenty hunters, mounted on their best steeds, rode in abreast; having heard of our arrival, they fired a salute as they passed our camp."

During the stay at Pembina the astronomer located a point on the forty-ninth parallel and there planted a wooden post

to mark the boundary, "G. B." inscribed on the northern face and "U. S." on the southern. All the sixty houses of the settlement, with one exception, were found to be on American soil, a discovery which appeared to be entirely to the satisfaction of the settlers. The instructions of the war department had stipulated that Long was to proceed from Pembina along the international boundary, but he was informed that such a route would be impossible for a mounted party because of the innumerable lagoons and marshes covering the whole of the region. Accordingly the explorers exchanged their mounts for canoes, and with the necessary supplies started out. The homeward journey was made by way of lower Red River, Lake Winnipeg, Winnipeg River, and the chain of lakes and rivers forming the international boundary.

At the falls of Rainy River they met a certain man by the name of Tanner, who had been captured by the Indians as a lad of nine, had lived with them for thirty years and resembled them in every way except complexion. He had just learned of his white relatives and was on his way to them when encountered by Long's party. On September 13 Fort William was reached. This was an important post of the Hudson's Bay Company; it was located only a few miles from Grand Portage on Lake Superior. From this point they skirted the northern shore of the lake, and they reached Sault Ste. Marie on September 29. At Detroit they found to their great disappointment neither the letters nor the funds from the war department which they had expected; as they had left Philadelphia with only five hundred dollars for the exigencies of the trip, they found themselves now in straitened circumstances. Long managed to raise a sufficient sum on his own credit, however, to enable them to resume their journey to Buffalo. At length they reached New York, where the party separated.

THEODORE CHRISTIANSON

DAWSON, MINNESOTA

THE STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION AT REDWOOD FALLS

On June 21, 1923, an expedition of Minnesotans interested in the history of the state set forth from Fort Snelling and Minneapolis on a tour up the picturesque valley of the Minnesota River. These modern explorers traveled, not in canoes or on horseback — as did Major Stephen H. Long of the United States Army and his followers who one hundred years ago left Fort Snelling on an exploratory journey through the same region — but in powerful motor cars over excellent roads. Whereas Major Long passed through a wilderness, the expedition of 1923 sped through a populous and cultivated region everywhere marked by the transforming hand of the white man's civilization. The destination of this comfortable exploring party was Redwood Falls, where on Friday and Saturday, June 22 and 23, there was held, upon the invitation of the Redwood Falls Commercial Club, the second state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Two committees were active in making preparations for the meeting. A general committee of the society was appointed to plan for the convention, with Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll of St. Paul, second vice president of the society, as chairman, and Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, the assistant superintendent, as secretary. The other members of this committee were Mrs. Marshall H. Coolidge, Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, and Mr. N. N. Rönning, of Minneapolis; Miss Mary V. Carney, Mrs. Charles E. Furness, Mr. Gideon S. Ives, and Mr. James M. McConnell, of St. Paul; Mr. Julius H. Barnes, Mr. William E. Culkin, and Mr. William A. McGonagle, of Duluth; Mr. Elmer E. Adams of Fergus Falls; Mr. Herbert A. Baldwin, Dr. William A. Brand, and Mr. Hiram M. Hitchcock, of Redwood Falls; Mr. Thomas Hughes and Judge Lorin Cray

of Mankato; Mr. Fred S. Bell of Winona; Dr. Donald J. Cowling of Northfield; Dr. Oliver M. Dickerson of Moorhead; Mrs. Michael J. Dowling of Olivia; Mr. Burt W. Eaton of Rochester; Mr. Herbert C. Hotaling of Mapleton; Mr. Constant Larson of Alexandria; Mr. Victor E. Lawson of Willmar; Mr. Olai E. Lende of Canby; Mr. William B. Mitchell of St. Cloud; Mr. John J. Mooney of Granite Falls; Mr. J. Anton Ochs of New Ulm; Dr. Conrad Peterson of St. Peter; and Mr. Nathaniel F. Soderberg of Madison. Local arrangements at Redwood Falls were in charge of a committee of which Dr. Brand was chairman, and Mrs. Grace Philbrick, secretary; the other members being Mr. H. M. Aune, Mr. W. S. Brammer, Mrs. C. P. Collins, Mrs. M. A. Ebright, Dr. T. E. Flinn, Mr. Hitchcock, Mrs. H. O. Johnson, Judge A. R. A. Louden, Mr. A. D. McRae, Mrs. Margaret McRae, and Mrs. Bess M. Wilson.

The arrangements for the tour preceding the convention were made in coöperation with the Sioux Historic Trail Association. The latter organization planned a centenary tour of the old Sioux trail from Fort Snelling to Brown's Valley, where an historical pageant was given on June 23 and 24, and agreed to make a joint tour with the Minnesota Historical Society to Redwood Falls. On the joint committee of the two organizations were Mr. Hitchcock, Miss Grace Kaercher of Ortonville, Mr. Mooney, Mr. Frank Hopkins of Fairfax, Mr. Samuel Y. Gordon of St. Paul, and Mr. Blegen.

The tour began at 8:00 A. M., Thursday, June 21, some cars starting from Fort Snelling and others, including a chartered motor bus which accommodated fifteen passengers, from Minneapolis. All the cars, carrying approximately sixty persons, assembled a short distance from Shakopee and were met by a welcoming delegation from that city. Each member of the party was presented with a copy of an interesting broadside entitled *Shakopee and a Bit of its History,* printed for the occasion by Mr. William F. Duffy, editor of the *Shakopee Argus.* This sheet contained pictures of Thomas A. Holmes,

the "father of Shakopee"; "Chief Shah-kpa-dan," after whom the city was named; the Reverend Samuel W. Pond, the Indian missionary; the first house in Shakopee, which was built by Oliver Faribault; and the Faribault Springs. The visitors were piloted to the Faribault house and springs and stopped for a brief inspection of these picturesque and historically interesting landmarks. As they left Shakopee they were met by the mayor of Jordan, who accompanied them to Jordan and Belle Plaine. A short stop was made at Le Sueur Center, where several places of historic interest were pointed out in an informal talk by Mr. Ora J. Parker.

A large number of people from St. Peter met the tourists at the Traverse des Sioux State Park, where "cold lemonade and a warm welcome," as a newspaper aptly put it, were provided through the courtesy of the St. Peter Association. A short speech of welcome was delivered by Judge Henry Moll of St. Peter and an historical address was given by the Honorable Henry N. Benson, a former state senator. Mr. Benson discussed the circumstances which led to the signing of the famous Indian treaty at Traverse des Sioux on July 23, 1851, and ascribed great significance to that transaction in connection with the advance of white settlement in Minnesota. At the conclusion of this address the visitors were escorted through the city of St. Peter, passing the former homes of seven Minnesota governors.

The visit to Mankato, which was reached shortly after noon, was made memorable by a complimentary luncheon served by the Mankato Society at Sibley Park, a beautiful and restful spot on the outskirts of the city. With Mr. George M. Palmer of Mankato acting as toastmaster, a short program followed, the first speaker being Judge Cray, who chose as his subject the hanging of the thirty-eight condemned Indian prisoners at Mankato on December 26, 1862. As a soldier on guard duty Judge Cray was an eyewitness of the tragic event of 1862, and he was able, therefore, to describe with vivid exactness the circumstances attending it. Mr. Thomas

Hughes then spoke briefly on the attitude of the Mankato community toward the Sioux Indians after 1862, pointing out that, sternly as the Indians were dealt with during the Sioux War, they were given every opportunity later to receive the benefits of the white man's civilization and that many of their descendants have won distinction as loyal and able citizens. Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, then expressed on behalf of the visitors thanks for the enjoyable luncheon and the cordial reception given by the people of Mankato. He commented particularly upon the large amount of local historical interest which was evidenced by the people of the Minnesota Valley with whom the visitors had come in contact.

When the tourists reached New Ulm, at 4:00 P. M., they were met by the Pioneer Brass Band of that city. This organization headed a parade along the principal avenue, past the imposing monument to the defenders of New Ulm during the Sioux War, and up to Turner Hall Park, where the Junior Pioneers and other citizens awaited the visitors. Cooling refreshments were then served and an informal program, originally planned for the park, was held in the convention hall of the Turner Society building. The president of the local commercial club, Mr. T. O. Streissguth, introduced the mayor, Dr. Louis A. Fritsche, who extended a hearty welcome on behalf of the citizens of New Ulm. The city, he explained, was named after the ancient German city of Ulm, the native city of many of the German immigrants who in 1854 laid the foundations of New Ulm. The old German city was designated by the Romans as "Ultra Limitas Militares." The first letters of the Latin words were appropriate, said Dr. Fritsche, not only as applied to the old-world city but also for the city established by German pioneers on the frontier in Minnesota at the limit of military occupation. Responding on behalf of the tourists, Dean Ford of the University of Minnesota thanked the people of New Ulm for their generous welcome and pointed out the desirability of

keeping alive in our memories the deeds and qualities of the pioneers who laid the foundations for a fairer civilization. Dr. Ford suggested that one method of honoring the pioneers was to emulate their spirit as applied to the problems of the present age.

The party then started for the site of Fort Ridgely, the United States military post which was besieged during the Indian war of 1862. Situated on a bluff commanding the valley of the Minnesota River, the site — which since 1911 has been a state park — is one of the most interesting spots in Minnesota. A supper graciously provided by the people of the neighboring city of Fairfax was served at Fort Ridgely to the travelers. A brief talk was then made by Senator Benson, who had accompanied the party from Traverse des Sioux. Mr. Frank Hopkins of Fairfax then addressed the group on the subject of the Sioux War, dealing particularly with the genesis of the outbreak and also describing the most notable events of the war which centered about Fort Ridgely. Every member of the touring party was given a copy of a folder published in 1922 in commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the Indian wars, which contains a valuable statement of "Historic Facts Relating to Indian Outbreak of 1862" compiled by Mr. August Hummel with the assistance of Mr. Hugo Roos and Mr. Richard Pfefferle.

After the conclusion of this program the party set out on the last stage of the tour and arrived at Redwood Falls at about 9:00 P. M., where the good will of the community found expression in music by an excellent brass band. The local committee on arrangements, with headquarters at the commercial club, assigned the seventy or more visitors, as they arrived and registered, to various homes throughout the city. Thus the interesting tour, which had been made doubly enjoyable by the generous hospitality of the people throughout the entire valley from Fort Snelling to Redwood Falls. came to a pleasant close.

The sessions of the convention were held at the Redwood Falls Armory. The registration was 162, but it is estimated that at least 100 local people attended one or more of the sessions without registering. Of those who registered 48 were members of the society and 114 were nonmembers; 35 were from Redwood Falls, 33 from Minneapolis, 17 from St. Paul, and the other 77 represented 25 different places. But the popular interest in the tour and in the convention was much more widespread than the attendance indicates. For example, a Minneapolis newspaper sent a special correspondent to the convention whose daily dispatches, appearing on the first page of his newspaper, carried the story of the historical excursion into thousands of homes. It should be added that the traveling exhibit of the Minnesota Historical Society was set up at the armory and attracted considerable attention.

The opening session, which began at 10:00 A. M., on Friday, June 23, was presided over by Dr. Ford. The address of welcome was delivered by Dr. Brand, chairman of the local committee on arrangements, who called attention to the importance and value of history and particularly stressed the significance of the study of history as affording a rational basis for understanding the manifold problems of the present day. Great names occur on the pages of Minnesota history, but in honoring the builders and trail-blazers of the past people must not make of the writing and study of history a form of ancestor worship. The spirit of impartiality and of unswerving truth, he said, must ever motivate the true historian.

In responding to this address Dr. Ford commented on the general enthusiasm for Minnesota history which the people of the Minnesota Valley had shown and pointed out that the intelligent interest of the people as a whole is of the utmost importance for the success of the state historical society's work. This increasing popular interest in history is in part explained by the expanding scope of the historian's work. Wars and public affairs have indeed played important rôles in the past, but, said Dr. Ford, no student may neglect the many

aspects of ordinary life and development, for they are of first importance in helping one to understand the complexities of present-day civilization. An historical convention, by focusing popular interest upon the history of the state, by bringing together students of that history and its problems, and by permitting the reading of papers on various phases of local and state history, gives an impetus generally to historical work and therefore is of great value to the state.

The first paper on the program was presented by Dr. Lester Burrell Shippee of the University of Minnesota, who took as his subject "The Fisk Expeditions to the Gold Country." Dr. Shippee called attention to four expeditions from Minnesota to the present region of Montana which were undertaken during the sixties under the leadership of Captain James L. Fisk. Gold-hunters were eager to go to the newly discovered diggings in the West, and Congress, faced by the economic problems of war and anxious to stimulate the production of gold, agreed to furnish military escorts for the emigrant trains. Captain Fisk, who came to Minnesota in 1850, was instructed by the government to guide northwest emigrant trains in 1862, 1863, and 1864, to the diggings. The speaker pointed out that the Fisk expeditions doubtless are replicas of hundreds of trips made to the West during the period before the railroads penetrated the region and thus they are interesting as types. Many details of the first three expeditions, he said, may be gleaned from the journal kept by the physician of the expeditions, Dr. William D. Dibb, a copy of which is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

The first expedition, which crossed the Wild Rice River four miles west of Fort Abercrombie on July 8, 1862, on its way to Fort Benton, was made up of about eighty emigrants and an armed escort of fifty men. The train was of considerable size, for there were 168 oxen, 8 mules, 27 horses, and 17 cows. Some of the emigrants had started from St. Paul or St. Cloud, but at least thirty teams were waiting at Fort Abercrombie when Fisk arrived there. Ignorant of the menace

of an impending Sioux Outbreak, the expedition set forth on what proved to be an uneventful journey. After guiding the train safely to Fort Benton Fisk pushed on to Walla Walla, Portland, and San Francisco, and returned to St. Paul by way of Panama and New York.

At the conclusion of the expedition of 1863 Fisk sold his equipment at Bannock City and Virginia and returned by way of a weekly "express" to Salt Lake, where a connection was made with Ben Holladay's Overland Stage Line. The rendezvous for 1864, said Dr. Shippee, was Minneapolis and the real starting point Fort Ridgely, Fisk's plan being to follow as nearly as possible the forty-fifth parallel and to pass through the Black Hills. Because of Indian difficulties the expedition got no farther than Fort Rice, a point some distance south of the site of the present city of Bismarck, North Dakota, and on October 21 Dr. Dibb made the following entry in his diary: "Members of the party begin to make their final preparations, some to remain, some to return by river, some with the 8th Iowa and Brackett's batallion by land. I go down the river in the flatboat with the 30th Wisconsin, as far as Sioux City, then cross over to Mankato by team, and home by stage." [1]

An attempt to organize an expedition in 1865 failed, but in 1866 a private expedition under the leadership of Captain Fisk was undertaken. The emigrants of 1866, unlike those of the previous years, said Dr. Shippee, were not gold-seekers or home-seekers, but men interested in the mining country as a field for commercial enterprise. As an illustration the speaker cited the case of two brothers who took five hundred sacks of flour with them to be sold in Helena.

Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul then presented a paper entitled "Navigation on the Red River of the North, 1858-1879." The speaker began with a somewhat detailed résumé of the history of transportation on Minnesota's north-

[1] For an explanation of the story of a lost "mountain of gold," to which the speaker referred, see *ante*, p. 225.

ernmost navigable stream. In making this survey Captain Bill harked back to the days of Lord Selkirk's Red River settlement — to the winter of 1819-20, when a little group of Canadian pioneers from Lower Fort Garry inaugurated traffic on the Red River. They made the long journey up the Red River and down the Minnesota and Mississippi to Prairie du Chien to purchase seed grain, and returned with their cargo over the same route in the spring.

Steamboat traffic on the Red River was not thought of seriously, said the speaker, until 1857, when Captain Russell Blakeley "made a tour of investigation of the river and returned with a report that steam navigation for several months in the year was practicable. The [*St. Paul*] Chamber of Commerce immediately offered a bonus of $1,000 to any one who would put a boat on Red River ready for operation the following spring." Anson Northup agreed to do this if the sum were doubled, and his offer was accepted. In the dead of a severe winter he transported timber, machinery, men, and supplies to the banks of the river and within six weeks the boat, which was named the "Anson Northup," was completed. On May 17, 1858, the first steamboat on the Red River left Fort Abercrombie and on June 5 it arrived with a cargo at Fort Garry. The "Anson Northup" was used again in 1859 and 1860.

Captain Bill then went on to narrate the histories of other early steamboats on the Red River. Such important names in Minnesota history as those of Norman W. Kittson and James J. Hill figured prominently in his tale. Although the boats were a factor in transporting settlers to various parts of the Red River Valley, they were used for the most part in carrying freight to Winnipeg. Captain Bill explained that during the early years freight was hauled from St. Paul to various points on the river by team, but in the seventies the railroad replaced this primitive means of transportation. Finally in "1879 the Canadian Pacific completed its line between Winnipeg and St. Vincent and the death knell of steamboating

on Red River was rung." At this point the speaker appropriately presented a "List of Steamers on the Red River" and a partial roster of the captains, clerks, mates, pilots, engineers, and stewards who operated these boats.

The second portion of Captain Bill's paper was devoted to his personal observations of the Red River. His "first job away from home" and the Mississippi was that of clerk on the "Dakota" in 1872. The boat was new, the river was extremely low, and fuel was scarce; consequently, the maiden trip of the "Dakota," from Breckenridge to Moorhead, occupied eight days, a journey now easily covered by train in one and a half hours. Traveling at such a rate naturally gave time for minute observation of the settlements along the bank, and Captain Bill evidently did not allow the opportunity to pass, for he pictured in detail the tiny towns and stations, some of which are today mere names, which he saw on his first trip and later on more extensive journeys. McCauleyville, Ole Thompson's stage station, Holy Cross Post Office, Moorhead, Fargo, Georgetown, Frog Point, Grand Forks, Turtle River, Pembina on the international boundary, the Canadian parishes of St. Norbert, St. Vital, and St. Boniface, and finally Fort Garry and Winnipeg are among the pioneer communities described. Captain Bill told also of an "exploring expedition" up the Red Lake River from Grand Forks to the "then un-named place now the thriving city of Crookston," which was undertaken by the "Dakota" in September, 1872. The railroad had just been extended to the latter point and the speaker stated that his boat soon was "doing commercial business on that stream instead of using Red river above Grand Forks."

The last section of Captain Bill's paper was devoted to "Some Personal Recollections." These included stories of the speaker's experiences with customs officials, an account of the "Second Agricultural Exhibition of Manitoba" at Winnipeg, and a number of incidents illustrative of the "crookedness" of the Red and the Red Lake rivers. Fort

Garry was the northern destination of the "Dakota" and most of her cargo was bound for the warehouses of the Hudson's Bay Company at that place. After the season of 1872 Captain Bill left the Red River and he did not revisit its towns and cities again for thirty-eight years. He presented an interesting contrast between the "Canadian Chicago" of 1872 and that of 1910. The speaker concluded his narrative with an account of the "last boat to cross the international boundary" on the Red River — the "Grand Forks," which left the city of that name on June 6, 1909, arrived at Winnipeg the following evening, and three days later brought back the "prominent citizens and business men of Grand Forks" who had gone on the excursion.

After the morning session about 150 persons attended an informal luncheon which was served in the dining hall of the Church of St. Catharine. This luncheon was followed by a discussion of plans for the organization of a Redwood County Historical Society. The toastmaster, Mr. Baldwin of Redwood Falls, first introduced Dr. Buck, who pointed out the contrast between the eastern states, where the study of local history is cultivated intensively, and western states, such as Minnesota, where there has been as yet comparatively little organization of local history activity. The speaker asserted, however, that a new day is dawning in the West, and that Minnesotans in particular are becoming conscious of the fact that it is profoundly important for them to understand the past of their own local communities. They realize, moreover, he said, that if they are to care for their local historical interests in an adequate manner, they must organize. Attention was directed by the speaker to the recent organization of the St. Louis County Historical Society and the nature of its affiliation with the Minnesota Historical Society. In Dr. Buck's opinion a close connection between the local and central organizations would prove of great mutual benefit. That the chances for developing local history activity are excellent is indicated, he said, by the recent act of the legislature authorizing one

county to appropriate money for the support of a county historical society.[2] Dr. Buck closed his remarks by reading parts of a proposed constitution for a county historical society.[3]

The Redwood County agricultural agent, Mr. Lynn Sheldon, who spoke next, declared that the county farm bureau was greatly interested in the matter of organizing local history activity and that its members would welcome the draft of a constitution which the preceding speaker had presented. Among the farmers, said Mr. Sheldon, there is much interest in historic places and in the preservation of historic objects. A local museum, he indicated, would be appreciated by many farmers who had valuable historical objects in their possession. Mr. Sheldon closed by advocating a broader conception of history which will give a place of importance, for example, to the story of agricultural implements and their relation to the general history of the region.

Mrs. Dowling was then introduced and spoke briefly on the heritage of the pioneers and the value to be derived from studying the remains and documents which throw light upon their struggles and their hardships. In Mrs. Dowling's opinion branches of the Minnesota Historical Society should be organized in the counties and should coöperate actively in assembling the records of Minnesota's past. Mrs. Wilson, the editor of the *Redwood Gazette,* then voiced the welcome of the community to the visitors and heartily indorsed the idea of a Redwood County historical society.

Congressman Frank Clague of Redwood Falls, the last speaker at the conference, spoke of the enthusiasm and careful planning which resulted in the erection of the Minnesota Historical Building, and emphasized especially the importance both for the local community and for the state of gathering up historical materials for permanent preservation, pointing out that unique papers are easily lost and, once destroyed, can

[2] See *ante,* p. 158.

[3] The draft of this constitution is printed *ante,* 4: 252–256.

never be replaced. The chairman, Mr. Baldwin, was then authorized by vote of the conference to appoint a committee to take under advisement the question of organization of history activity in Redwood County.

After the luncheon conference, the delegates returned to the armory for the afternoon session, which began at 2:30 P. M. Mrs. Dowling presided at this session and first introduced Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook, secretary of the Minnesota War Records Commission, who read a paper on "Minnesota's Contribution to the Spanish-American War." The outbreak of the Spanish War, which occurred twenty-five years ago in April, found Minnesota prepared to do her share, said Mr. Holbrook. The national guard had been recruited to war strength and volunteer companies had been organized in cities and towns throughout the state. In response to the president's call for volunteers the three infantry regiments of the Minnesota National Guard, soon to be known as the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Minnesota volunteer infantries, assembled at Camp Ramsey for examination, training, and muster. So promptly were these regiments mobilized that Minnesota achieved the distinction of being the first state in the Union to have its full quota of regiments under the first call mustered into the volunteer army. Later, in midsummer, a fourth regiment was organized and mustered in under the president's second call as the Fifteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry.

The speaker said that the history of three of the Minnesota regiments is a story of long weeks and months spent in various camps in the United States — of drills, parades, inspections, and sham battles; of the ravages of disease; of bouts with boredom; and of vain longing for active service at the front. The more fortunate Thirteenth won distinction in the Philippines at the battle of Manila and in the first campaigns against the insurgent Filipinos. A very considerable number of Minnesotans, the speaker stated, served in various outside organizations; in fact, whereas 5,300 served in the state's own

regiments, it appears that Minnesota furnished a total of approximately 8,500 men during the war and the insurrection, and of these 266 lost their lives in the service.

The people at home also contributed to the successful prosecution of the war, according to Mr. Holbrook. The payment of numerous special war taxes of course was not a matter of choice with the individual, but it was usually made without complaint. Large numbers of citizens undoubtedly subscribed to the so-called "popular loan," floated by the government in the summer of 1898. More conspicuously, the people of the state contributed to the welfare of their fighting men through such welfare organizations as the Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A.

Mr. Holbrook concluded by discussing the work of two Minnesotans who figured prominently in the diplomacy of the period. When it was still a question whether there should be war or peace with Spain, Cushman K. Davis, senior senator from Minnesota and chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee, led the war party in Congress, and Archbishop Ireland, as an emissary of the Pope, labored at Washington in the interest of peace. When the war ended, Senator Davis was appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate the peace, and as such he was largely instrumental in securing the Philippines from Spain. Mr. Holbrook's paper was based upon his newly published *Minnesota in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection,* which was reviewed in the last number of the BULLETIN.

The second paper, by Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., curator of the Minnesota Historical Society's museum, dealt with an important phase of early Minnesota history, "Lawrence Taliaferro and Indian Affairs at the St. Peter's Agency, 1820-1840." This paper was based upon a careful study of the valuable Taliaferro Papers in the manuscript division of the historical society, supplemented by other contemporary records. The speaker began by pointing out that the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 and the War of 1812 brought for-

ward the problem of American military control of the Northwest with its savage Indians and scarcely less unruly fur-traders. This difficult problem the government attempted to solve by the establishment of Fort St. Anthony, later called Fort Snelling, in the fall of 1819 and by the appointment of Lawrence Taliaferro of Virginia to the newly created Indian agency for the upper Mississippi tribes at the mouth of the St. Peter's or Minnesota River.

Mr. Babcock said that Taliaferro's work for the next twenty years — he was reappointed for his sixth successive term in the spring of 1839 — presents two main aspects: that relating to the handling of intertribal relations and the maintenance of peace, and that concerning the relations between the Indians and the whites, both governmental and private. The laws regulating the relations between the Indians and the whites were strict and the agent had his hands full in forcing the traders to obey them. Even Colonel Leavenworth, who was in command of the Fifth United States Infantry at Camp Coldwater in the summer of 1820, had to be warned against the distribution of whisky, which "entails misery upon the Indians, and endangers their lives as well as those of their own people." There were lumbermen, said the speaker, who were too anxious to cut the timber in the virgin forests of the St. Croix Valley to wait until these lands were opened up by treaty, and fur-traders who used smuggled whisky as a means of driving good bargains with the natives. On several occasions, said Mr. Babcock, the troops at Fort Snelling had to be ordered out to drive these lawbreakers from the Indian country.

The treaties of 1837 created new problems for the agent, for the whites swarmed into the newly opened country and there were large payments of money and goods to be made as annuities. Furthermore, the government failed to recognize the necessity of delivering annuity goods on time to the Indians of this remote region and it was the unpleasant business of the agent to make excuses and new promises while the Indians

starved. One pitiful letter from Taliaferro notes the fact that 870 starving Sioux were waiting that day at the agency for their goods, long past due, and he had not even a single plug of tobacco to give them, not to speak of provisions.

Keeping the peace between Sioux and Chippewa was an almost impossible task and numerous encounters, some near Fort Snelling, disturbed the quiet of the district. Vigorous action by the agent and the commander of the fort on one occasion in 1827, however, when several Sioux murderers were handed over to the injured Chippewa for execution, impressed the Indians. Frequent peace councils, visits of composite delegations to Washington, and repressive measures on the part of the agent also played their part, said Mr. Babcock, in checking hostilities between the two inveterate enemies.

But the strain upon the agent finally became too great, and in the fall of 1839 Taliaferro retired, broken in health. "He had fought a good fight against heavy odds, with limited resources," said Mr. Babcock in conclusion. "He had wielded the vast powers intrusted to him justly and fearlessly, and he had exhibited a feeling for and an understanding of the Indian and his problems which few men have shown."

The final paper of the afternoon program was presented by Miss Livia Appel, research assistant of the Minnesota Historical Society, on the subject of "Territorial Encouragement of Immigration." Miss Appel's paper was a compact and interesting summary of the Minnesota activities to attract settlers which are described in the collection of documents printed, with an introduction and notes, in the last number of the BULLETIN.

Before the adjournment of this session, a telegram signed by the superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, was placed before the convention:

Greetings from the State Historical Society of Iowa to the State Historical Convention at Redwood Falls, Minnesota. The coöperation of the state historical society and local communities

in the promotion of a wider interest in state and local history is worthy of emulation throughout the Mississippi Valley.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

At the conclusion of the session cars were placed at the disposal of the visitors for a tour of Ramsey State Park and other points of interest near Redwood Falls. The park, which is named in honor of Governor Alexander Ramsey, is located at the junction of Ramsey Creek and the Redwood River and has been described as "a Yellowstone in miniature with its winding streams, beautiful falls, deep gorges, glistening rapids, picturesque rock cliffs and pretty groves." Some of the delegates, after a trip through this charming park, returned to Redwood Falls; others, however, were piloted to some of the most interesting places connected with events of the Sioux Outbreak. Thus a number of the visitors were driven to see the splendid monument erected in commemoration of the bloody battle of Birch Coulie.

At 7:00 P. M. the annual meeting of the Sioux Historic Trail Association was held at the armory. The new officers elected by that organization were Mr. Gordon, president, Mr. Mooney, vice president, and Miss Kaercher, secretary and treasurer. The presiding officer at this meeting was Mr. Mooney, the retiring president, who spoke briefly on the meaning of the Sioux Historic Trail and emphasized the importance of perpetuating the trail. Dr. Warren Upham, archeologist of the Minnesota Historical Society, was called upon to discuss the "Scenery and Geology of the Sioux Historic Trail, and Proposed Monuments for Old Lac qui Parle and Brown's Valley." After describing briefly the trail, which covers about 450 miles from St. Paul to Pembina, Dr. Upham recommended the adequate marking of the site of the old Lac qui Parle mission and the erection of a monument at Brown's Valley in honor of Gabriel Renville, "whose counsels and influence, with others friendly to the white captives in the Sioux War of 1862, led to their being set free at Camp Release." A short talk also was made at this meeting by the

Reverend Maurice D. Edwards of St. Paul. In telling of the missionary activities of the Pond brothers, of Dr. Riggs, and of Dr. Williamson the speaker introduced the element of personal reminiscence, which made the speech one of especial interest to the audience.

The presiding officer for the last session of the day, which was held at 8:00 P. M., was Mr. John H. Riheldaffer of Minneapolis. He first introduced the Honorable Theodore Christianson of Dawson, whose paper on "The Long and Beltrami Explorations in Minnesota One Hundred Years Ago" awakened great interest among the auditors. Owing to the unavoidable absence of Dr. William W. Folwell, his paper on "The Causes of the Sioux War" was read by Dr. Buck. Dr. Folwell's paper began by rejecting the view of Senator Rice that the "machinations of secessionist emissaries" were responsible for the outbreak. Nor will the short explanation of the Reverend Stephen R. Riggs, namely that the Sioux were "instigated by the devil," satisfy the inquirer. In fact it is not necessary "to import any extraneous fundamental origin of the outbreak and its atrocities," for that may be found, according to Dr. Folwell, in that universal passion of human nature, anger. "The Dakota Indians were human beings who had never been subjected to a government of law and who found their remedy for injuries in rapine and murder." It was pointed out that more than twice as many murders were committed in the New York draft riots by infuriated white men than by the Indian savages during the frontier outbreak.

The various causes which led to the war were then enumerated and explained. Dr. Folwell first analyzed the traditional Indian policy of the United States government and asserted that it "was calculated to invite outbreaks of passion and revenge." He then discussed the question of the Indian land cessions and the rankling feeling of the Sioux that they had been cheated and deluded. Particular attention was given to the treaties of 1858 ceding nearly a million acres on the north bank of the Minnesota. After three years of waiting the

Sioux found their lands gone and the proceeds largely absorbed by traders. Dr. Folwell then described the scheme of Indian civilization of Joseph R. Brown who in October, 1857, assumed the duties of Sioux agent. The retirement of Major Brown in 1861, caused by "the exigencies of party politics," was characterized by Dr. Folwell as a calamity for the Sioux nation and for the United States.

Brown's successor, Thomas J. Galbraith, soon encountered difficulties. The blanket Indians ridiculed and tormented those who were adopting the white man's ways. The failure of the government to keep a strong force of cavalry at Yellow Medicine and to demonstrate the government's might to the Sioux tribes was a great mistake, in Dr. Folwell's opinion. The failure of the whites to capture and punish Inkpaduta after the massacre of 1857 greatly lowered the prestige of the government. The Sioux were a proud nation, possessing genuine *esprit de corps*. The concentration of Indians had long been the slogan of those who were friendly to the Indians, but Dr. Folwell pointed out that "the concentration of wild Indians could work nothing but mischief and ruin." Furthermore, the Minnesota reservations were not isolated. "An hour's walk brought the Indian to the edge of his country, to meet his deadliest foe, the white man and his whisky jug."

After thus dealing with the predisposing causes which aggravated the ancient hostility of the Sioux tribes, Dr. Folwell turned to "the immediate causes of exasperation," first explaining the difficulties connected with the distribution of annuity goods and cash annuities which led to an Indian demonstration on August 4, 1862, at Yellow Medicine. The Sioux had an additional ground for dissatisfaction, according to Dr. Folwell, in "the custom for deductions to be made from cash annuities to reimburse white people who had suffered losses of property by depredations of individual Indians." A particularly large reduction in 1861 had fanned ill feeling. The lower Sioux were kept waiting for payment and tried to

get on credit the food which they sorely needed. At the Redwood agency about the middle of August, 1862, the keepers of the stores refused credit and thus greatly antagonized Chief Little Crow and his friends.

Although Confederate emissaries had nothing to do with the Outbreak, Dr. Folwell indicated that not a few of the traders were Copperheads and deluded the Indians with false reports regarding the war. He pointed out that the money payment was delayed owing to tardy Congressional action and the situation in the treasury. When, on August 18, a keg of gold reached Fort Ridgely, the Indian war already had begun. Dr. Folwell's paper concluded by telling of the Acton murders and of the probable Indian council at which the final decision of the aroused Sioux to go on the war path was reached. The paper is to be published as one chapter in the forthcoming second volume of the author's *History of Minnesota.*

The chairman of the committee on resolutions, Dr. Clarence W. Rife, Jr., of Hamline University, St. Paul, then presented the following resolutions, which were adopted by the unanimous vote of the convention:

WHEREAS, The people of Redwood Falls have opened wide the gates of their hospitality, have given to the visitors to the State Historical Convention unstintingly of their time and energies, and have done all in their power to make the convention a great success, — therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the participants in the convention extend their cordial appreciation and sincere thanks to the people of Redwood Falls for their generous hospitality; to the commercial club for its kind invitation to the Minnesota Historical Society to hold its summer meeting in this city; to Dr. Brand and the local committee on arrangements for the patient work and the fine enthusiasm with which they have planned for the entertainment of the visitors; to those who have put their cars at the service of the convention guests and made it possible for them to view the beauties of Ramsey State Park and to see the points of historic interest in the neighborhood, to the people who have opened their homes to accommodate the convention members; and finally

to all who have contributed, either as participants in the programs or as dispensers of hospitality, to make the convention an enjoyable and successful event long to be remembered.

On Saturday morning, June 23, the Sioux Historic Trail Association resumed the automobile tour to Brown's Valley, by way of Granite Falls, Montevideo, and Ortonville. A Saturday morning tour to a number of places of historic interest near Redwood Falls had been planned for the benefit of those who were unable to go on to Brown's Valley and who on the previous day had made only the short trip through Alexander Ramsey State Park. The inclemency of the weather, however, prevented the execution of this plan and, instead, the homeward journey was begun, the majority of the cars following the most direct route from Redwood Falls to Minneapolis.

Those who made the trip and participated in the sessions felt amply repaid for the effort. That the tour and the convention did much to stimulate historical interest, not only among the residents of the Minnesota Valley, but generally among the people of the state, is certain. Where the third state historical convention, in the summer of 1924, will be held is not yet known. But it is certain that the society, in view of the success of the Duluth and the Redwood Falls meetings, will fare forth again next summer to some part of the state, and that cordial interest will be shown in the cause represented by the institution, the preservation of the records of Minnesota history and the dissemination of knowledge of that history among the people.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

IMPRESSIONS OF MINNESOTA IN 1849

The document printed below is a letter written by a visitor to St. Paul in the summer of 1849 in which are recorded his impressions of Minnesota after spending four weeks in the region "looking at town and country, and making observation on men and things." The letter was printed in an Ohio newspaper, the *Eaton Register* for August 30, 1849. Not long ago a copy of this number was loaned to the Minnesota Historical Society by Mr. E. A. Kees of Beulah, North Dakota.

The letter, signed by the unknown "C.," is not without considerable intrinsic interest, but it is presented to the readers of the BULLETIN principally because it typifies hundreds of reports which were sent out from the little frontier community to interested friends and relatives in the East. Some of these letters, like the one here printed, found their way into the columns of newspapers; many others were never printed and probably most of these manuscripts have been destroyed. The Minnesota Historical Society is endeavoring to find and to add to its collection of source materials letters which, whether preserved in newspapers or in their original manuscript form, have escaped the ravages of time. Obviously a considerable collection of documents of this kind would be of great value to the student who desires to picture accurately the rapidly changing conditions of life during the early pioneer period in Minnesota.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

C. TO THE EATON REGISTER, July, 22, 1849

ST. PAUL, July 22, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: — I promised you a letter from this far off region, so here it is. I have spent about four weeks in Minnesota looking at town and country, and making observation on men and

things. First, of St. Paul: — This place is situated on the east, or rather north side of the Mississippi — on a bluff bank which rises about one hundred feet above the level of the water in the stream. The site of the town is a beautiful plain surrounded with hills which are covered with here and there a scrubby oak, which gives them very much the appearance of old orchards. The population at present is about 1200. The town is entirely new; two thirds of the houses have been built this year.[1] They have sprung up, as it were, by magic, or it looks as though Aladin was here with his wonderful lamp. Although the town has thus sprung up, it is not like Solomon's temple, for the sound of many hammers are constantly heard. In St. Paul are two good hotels, one near what is termed the lower, and the other at the upper landing, distant from each other about half a mile. Those two points are the only two places where the bluff can be ascended with wagons. We have any quantity of commission houses, stores, groceries, &c. Then we have bowling saloons, billiard rooms, and all that — gaming is quite prevalent. — A good school is kept here, and we have various ministers — a Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist; one of each resides here — besides an Episcopalian who has service here every Sunday afternoon. The Catholics are the only denomination who has a Church; a rude log one with a wooden cross at one end, and a hall at the other. Services in this are in the French language. There are not very many professors in this place. We have here three printing establishments. The Pioneer by a Mr. Goodhue, which has lived for 3 months. In politics, this is a nondescript. They are "good Lord good Devil," not knowing whose hands they may fall in. — It has professed neutrally, but is in favor with the Democrats, and should they have a majority in the Legislature, it will be Loco. Next comes the "Chronicle," which has attained to the 8th number. — This is a Whig Journal, edited by Col. Hughes,

[1] The population of St. Paul, according to the enumeration taken by John Morgan in the summer of 1849 and submitted on July 4, was 910. William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1:352 (St. Paul, 1921). For an interesting account of the rapid growth of the town see the same work, 1:250.

formerly of Ohio. Then comes the "Register," 8 weeks old. Our friend J. P. Owens is conductor of this, and you well know it is Whig. It is due to say that none of the papers have assumed a party character. But one of these establishments can live; which they will be I cannot tell. [2]

I have travelled some around the country, and find it rather rough and broken — the soil is not very fertile, only second rate. The country is beautiful, abounds with first rate water, springs and brooks — pure crystal streams — affording plenty of water power. The country is evidently healthy — we have plenty of stone and enough of wood for fuel. For fencing they must rely on pruenes [*pines?*] and tamarac swamps. There are extensive regions of both, north of us. This does not promise to be a great farming country until a Sioux Treaty shall be made, and the lands on the west side of the river are acquired. At present, the good farming region is limited to an inconsiderable area. By reference to the map you will see that the St. Croix lake and Mississippi river cut the country into the form of a triangle. Let a line be drawn beginning about 8 miles above St. Anthony's Fall and running east to the St. Croix, and the triangle lying below that line embraces nearly all the good land to which the Indian title is extinguished. Across this is about 25 miles and the depth of 30 miles. Deduct about one half this for lakes, swamps, marshes, and sandhills, and the balance is the area of arable land now in market. The most desirable portions of this is claimed. West of the Miss., and south of St. Peters river, extending west to the Missouri, is a large domain of the finest country in the world. This the Indians are desirous of selling, and it will be purchased soon. Then Minnesota will be a country worthy of public attention.

[2] James M. Goodhue issued the first number of the *Minnesota Pioneer* on April 28, 1849. The *Minnesota Chronicle*, which first appeared on May 31, 1849, was edited by James Hughes; and John P. Owens was the editor of the *Minnesota Register*, which was first issued in Cincinnati, Ohio, on April 27, 1849. The first Minnesota issue appeared on July 14, 1849. The two latter newspapers were combined and on August 25, 1849, the first number of the *Chronicle and Register* was printed. Daniel S. B. Johnston, "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 247, 253–256 (part 1).

In this region we have several thriving villages; the principal are Stillwater and St. Anthony. Stillwater is situated at the head of Lake St. Croix, 25 miles from the Mississippi. It has about 600 inhabitants and is principally sustained by the lumber business which is done up the St. Croix river. It is a pleasant thriving place, 18 miles east of this. St. Anthony has about 300 population, is nine miles west of this at the Fall.[3] It is pleasantly situated, and the immense water power will tend to build it up. Quite a number of people reside around Fort Snelling, a strong fort 6 miles above here in the fork at the confluence of the Miss. and St. Peters rivers. St. Peters is a navigable stream — a considerable trade is carried on up this river. Immediately below the mouth of St. Peters is the town of Hon. H. H. Sibley, delegate to Congress from this territory — it is the establishment of the American Fur Company, and is now called Mendota; it is improving some. This place was settled about 30 years ago, about the same time that Fort Snelling was established. — The lumber business and Indian trade is the main business of the country. Lumbering business amounts to about $200,000 per year — Indian annuities are very heavy. The amount of goods imported into this country, amounts to about $600,000 per annum. White and half-white population of the territory about 5,000.

The election for the first Legislative Assembly will come off on the 1st day of August. The aspirants are now busy electioneering — nine Councilmen and 18 delegates compose the first assembly. I think it will be democratic.[4] The French here will be Loco, and what the Dutch are in Ohio, these ignorant wretches will be here, — tools in the hands of Loco demagogues. We have more little great men here than any place I ever saw. We have more fence men — trade politicians — who are in the market at the highest bidder. Then we have quite a number of pseudo-sages, who think it wise to observe a neutral position. Sibley

[3] The census of 1849 credited Stillwater with 609 inhabitants and St. Anthony with 248. Folwell, *Minnesota,* 1: 352.

[4] No political party was organized in Minnesota before the first territorial legislature convened. The first "Democratic mass convention," which Dr. Folwell terms "the beginning of party organization in Minnesota," occurred on October 20, 1849. *Minnesota,* 1: 369.

is the leader of that genus. They say, that as Congress will be Loco in one branch and Whig in the other, that the best position of the territory is to remain neutral. If Congress will not grant the territory its rights because of its politics, then they had better go home, for the Lord is done with them. I have much more that I would like to write, but my limits forbid. Things are dull — we have had very hot weather and plenty of musquitoes.

With my best wishes for the good people of Eaton, and a hope that I may see you all again.

C.

THE INFORMATION BUREAU

GEORGE W. NORTHRUP

May I take the liberty to ask you to inform me in regard to any facts or relics you may have concerning the life of George W. Northrup, an early scout of frontier life? I am his great-niece and am attempting to gather the facts of his life.

MRS. THERESA E. MACEWAN, La Fayette, New York

George W. Northrup was born in central New York in 1837. When he was fifteen years old his father died and Northrup came west to St. Paul. He decided upon the life of a frontiersman and for three years he traded with the Yankton Sioux. During this period he obtained a thorough knowledge of their language and customs and of the country in which they lived.

When he was but eighteen years of age Northrup gained fame as the result of an attempt to follow westward the trail covered by Governor Isaac I. Stevens' party in surveying a route for a Pacific railroad. The young adventurer's only companion was a dog and all his supplies were packed in a handcart. When the contents of the cart were stolen, however, he was forced to abandon his ambitious scheme, and with great difficulty he worked his way back to the trading post at Big Stone Lake. The story of this escapade is said to have been published in newspapers throughout the country, notably in the *New York Tribune*. In *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for February, 1894, it is told by Edward Eggleston in a sketch of Northrup's life entitled "The-Man-that-Draws-the-Handcart." The greater part of this article is reprinted in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 4, 1894.

Northrup was a familiar figure in the Red River Valley during the late fifties and the early sixties. Captain Russell Blakeley mentions him in his article on the "Opening of the Red River of the North to Commerce and Civilization," in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 52, 53, 57. North-

rup was the captain of a flatboat, "the first passenger boat on Red river," which carried a number of travelers down that stream from Fort Abercrombie to Fort Garry in 1858. Englishmen who came to the region to hunt buffalo found in him an experienced and efficient guide. In 1860, with William Tarbell, he carried the mail between Fort Abercrombie and Pembina, using Red River carts in summer and dog trains in winter.

With the outbreak of the Civil War Northrup enlisted in Brackett's Battalion of Cavalry, Minnesota Volunteers. He saw service in the South and in 1864 he went west with the battalion when it joined the Sully expedition against the Indians. The *St. Paul Press* made him its correspondent and his reports of the expedition's westward march appear over the name "Icimani" in the issues of that paper for May 11 and 29, June 2 and 7, July 17, and August 6, 1864. It was left for others, however, to furnish the stories of the battles in which Brackett's Battalion participated, for Northrup fell in the first encounter with the Indians near Tahpahokutah, Missouri, on July 28. Major Alfred B. Brackett's official report of the battle, published in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861–1865*, 2: 535 (St. Paul, 1893), contains the following statement: "In the charge Sergt. George W. Northrup, of Company C, fell, after receiving eight or ten wounds, one of which pierced him through the heart." Reports of the battle furnished by other correspondents appear in the *Press* for September 6 and 7, 1864.

B. L. H.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

War Diary. By GEORGE E. LEACH, Colonel 151st Field Artillery, Rainbow Division. (Minneapolis, 1923. 205 p. Illustrations.)

Of the vast literature relating to the World War which has been published during the past few years, memoirs, reminiscences, and diaries have formed no inconsiderable part. The volume of this material which is still issuing from the press shows no sign of diminishing. It is extremely fortunate that the generation which fought the World War has shown a sufficient degree of historical-mindedness to preserve such records in permanent form before they are lost or destroyed through carelessness or neglect. The narratives and diaries which were the first to appear were devoted almost entirely to the personal, intimate experiences of the writers, who were in many instances enlisted men or officers of the lower grades. Since they knew little of the broader aspects of military operations, these writers focused their attention upon the details of the soldier's daily life. Following the cessation of hostilities, on the other hand, the world was flooded with the reminiscences of persons of high military or official rank who sought an opportunity to justify themselves and their actions before the bar of history. These accounts deal almost exclusively with the broader military, political, and diplomatic aspects of the war. One is impressed by the fact that there have been relatively few personal narratives emanating from military officers of the middle ranks, that is from battalion, regimental, and brigade commanders. There has been little to throw light upon the part played by these men, their duties and their responsibilities, their cares and their triumphs. The *Diary* which is the subject of the present review is of unusual value and interest because it does this very thing. It is a record of the experiences of a regimental commander, one of that group of American officers upon whose devotion to duty and efficiency so much of the success of our arms depended.

Colonel George E. Leach commanded the 151st United States Field Artillery, of the Rainbow Division, throughout the entire period of its service in the World War. As an officer of the national guard he had previously commanded the First Minnesota Field Artillery, which was reorganized as the 151st after the outbreak of hostilities. The distinguished service of the Forty-second, or Rainbow, Division is widely known, and it was a high tribute to the officers and men of the First Minnesota that they should have been designated to constitute a part of the organization. The Rainbow Division, including the 151st Field Artillery, was concentrated at Camp Mills, New York, during September and early October, 1917. During the latter part of October the division was transported to France, where a period of intensive training was entered upon in preparation for service at the front. The end of February, 1918, found the 151st in a quiet sector of the front in Lorraine, where the entire division had been placed for a period of front-line training which was to extend into the month of June. In July, the Forty-second was moved to the Champagne front to help withstand the great German offensive which was anticipated in that quarter. The attack came and was hurled back in one of the critical battles of the war, after which the division was hurried westward to assist in the allied counter-offensive which was driving the enemy out of the Marne salient. After the Germans had been driven back to the River Vesle, the guns of the 151st were hauled from the line and moved eastward again. September 12, 1918, found the regiment in position on the St. Mihiel front, where it carried out with almost mechanical precision its part in the brilliant operation of the First American Army which ended in the reduction of the salient. A few days later, men and guns were being hurried westward to join the last and greatest American offensive of the war, the Meuse-Argonne. The days which followed, from October 7, when the regiment entered the line, until November 11, were a period of almost incessant battle and it was here in the Argonne that the 151st did its most brilliant work. After the armistice the Rainbow Division was assigned to the Army of Occupation and moved forward to the Rhine.

The diary of Colonel Leach contains an entry for almost every day of the period beginning with September 4, 1917, and

ending with May 10, 1919, and it constitutes a vivid narrative of the operations enumerated above. The entries are sometimes brief, it is true, but a regimental commander during those stirring days had little time for writing. The reviewer has had an opportunity to examine the diary in the form in which it was originally kept. It is contained in a series of small, leather-bound memorandum books, one for each month, and of such size that they could be carried conveniently in the pocket of blouse or shirt and thus always be available. The entries were written in dugout or billet, or wherever else the colonel happened to be at the moment. On some occasions the record of the day's events was actually written under fire. It should be stated that the diary as published contains some corrections, and certain additional material in the form of quotations from orders, reports, and other official documents has been added by the author. It would also appear that in some instances supplementary material drawn from memory has been included in the published version.

As an historical document the diary is of the greatest value and interest. It contains information which will serve as a useful check upon the data relating to the regiment contained in official orders and reports. But it is more than this. It is an intensely interesting human document and it pictures war as a struggle of man's spirit and body against difficulty and danger and all the sordid things which accompany war. The value of the record is enhanced by the fact that it was originally intended for no other eye than that of the author. Thus we read of the colonel's anxiety for the welfare and safety of his men and we share his sorrow as he records the loss of friends and comrades among the officers and men of his command. Again, we share his pride as he mentions a word of praise or commendation from a superior after a particularly fine or successful bit of work by his regiment. The discerning reader will note traces of strain and fatigue in the tone of some of the entries written during the height of battle, and if he had access to the little volumes containing the original diary he would note similar traces of strain and weariness in the very handwriting itself. Enemy shells and poison gas were not the only things which tried the spirits of the men, as is revealed in the frequent references to cold and mud, flies and vermin, and the smells of the battlefield. And running

ever through the account of the terrible battle of the Argonne is the note of weariness. But after all, even in war it is the little things which often matter, and on May 31, 1918, the colonel paused to write in his diary: "Had a tooth filled today and enjoyed it as much as usual."

The easiest way in which to give the reader an idea concerning the contents of the volume is to quote a few typical passages, but one is confronted by the difficulty of selection. The following extracts, however, have been chosen more or less at random. The first two describe the vicissitudes of life aboard a convoy, early in the war:

Saturday, October 20th [1917]. Four hundred miles east of Hatteras at sunrise. Sea is rough and most of the men sick. Whole day spent in drill and inspection below decks. Two men lost over-board last night. So many of the officers are sick that it makes a tough day for the others. The hold and decks at times look simply hopeless, and all you can do is to keep at it. Details for work get sick before they report, and it is a constant fight to get things done. Tonight the sea is not running so high.

Friday, October 26th [1917]. Engines were broken down for an hour this morning and we rolled in the trough of the sea, but are on our way now in good shape. S. O. S. report of a ship sinking 100 miles N. E. struck by a torpedo. The ship made no answer. An oil tanker met us this A. M. with fuel for the destroyers. The ship was broken down for an hour and rolled in the sea, while the rest of the fleet steamed in a circle around her. It is cold and cloudy, and hard to keep warm; the wind being very raw.

Another entry records an early experience of the regiment at the front:

Saturday, March 9th [1918]. We pulled our first Coup de Main at one P. M. today, which lasted five hours of terrific shelling. Went to a front line observation station with General McKinstry and we got caught in a shell fire and lay in the bottom of a shallow trench an hour and five minutes, while German 5.0 shells fell like rain. We were almost buried alive several times. A frightful experience for me. At five-thirty the infantry completed its mission and the firing let up and I was glad to get back alive. Part of the time we observed the engagement from the top of a camouflaged tree on a high hill in the Vosges and had a wonderful view. The Germans shelled our O. P. and we were almost knocked out of the tree. A French soldier, standing next to me on the platform was badly wounded in the leg. My regiment fired 5,422

rounds and had only 20 casualties, which spoke well for the camouflage of our positions which had been especially prepared.

Now and then the diary relates a personal adventure, which in the following instance is not unmixed with a certain grim humor, at least from the viewpoint of the reader:

Sunday, July 28th [1918]. . . . The aviators fly very low and at one time one of them deliberately chased Captain Bradley and I around a tree, so close that we had the opportunity to empty our automatics at him, but the necessity of dodging his machine gun bullets hindered our marksmanship.

The hardship and strain of the fighting in the Argonne, which have already been mentioned, are revealed in such passages as the following:

Monday, October 14th [1918]. Fired all night and just before daylight finished our preparation for the advance. The rolling barrage started but the Infantry met with stubborn resistance from the German Artillery and machine guns. The 32nd Division on the right was counter-attacked and lost some ground. The roads are terrible with mud and shell holes and the service of ammunition is killing our horses. The harassing fire of the Germans with high explosives and gas continues. We are all very miserable for sleep, having had no rest for five days.

And here is a particularly vivid bit of description:

Wednesday, November 6th [1918]. At six A. M. in a cold rain, rode to St. Piermont, Oches and La Berlier, where I spent the rest of the day and night waiting for the batteries to come up. It was a battle picture that I will never forget as I rode over the hill into Oches, where two divisions were converging on the town, plodding through the mud and rain. There are unburied Americans and Germans along the road, covered with mud, and dead horses everywhere, and everyone so tired it was absolutely still, except for the rattle of equipment and the splash of the mud.

Nothing reveals more clearly the nature of the ordeal through which the men of the 151st had passed than their almost pitiful attempt at a celebration when the news of the armistice arrived:

Monday, November 11th [1918]. The Armistice is signed and at eleven A. M. the firing ceased. Nothing impressed me so much as the absolute silence. In the evening the soldiers fired all of the German Rocket dumps and each man built a little fire for himself out of the debris, but with it all there was very little excitement. The band played in the afternoon for the first time in weeks.

The *Diary* is a noteworthy contribution to the story of America's participation in the World War, and it is also an absorbing personal narrative of stirring events, full of human interest and adventure.

WAYNE E. STEVENS

Forty Years in North Dakota (In Relation to Grand Forks County). By H. V. ARNOLD. (Larimore, North Dakota, the author, 1921. 176 p.)

In Dr. Van Dyke Robinson's admirable study of the development of agriculture in Minnesota, published eight years ago, there is a chapter on the period of specialized wheat farming, from 1860 to 1880. Diagrams and statistics are employed to bring out the fact that Minnesota wheat culture reached "its third and final culminating point" in 1878. In a subsequent chapter the author designates the years 1880 to 1900 as the period in which diversified farming developed. It is interesting to turn from the impersonal analysis in Dr. Robinson's pages to such a book as Mr. H. V. Arnold's *Forty Years in North Dakota,* for the opening chapters of the latter work translate the scholar's statistics into the language of personal experience. The diagram becomes the story of the Arnolds of Houston County, Minnesota, who declined to adjust themselves to the transition from specialized to diversified farming. "The ultimate failure of wheat raising in southern Minnesota and northern Iowa," writes one of the Arnolds, the author of the book under review, "had been foreseen by many from the analogy of the older states and now the people of those sections found themselves confronted with the reality. It was said by some that farmers must pay more attention to stock raising with improved breeds of both hogs and cattle. But there were hundreds of the small farmers who were unable to cope with the changed situation, since to adjust matters to the required new conditions would take several years."

The three Arnolds — two brothers and a cousin — were small farmers who cut the Gordian knot by emigrating. "Two farm wagons had to be provided with bows shaved out of long, slender saplings as frames for the canvas coverings of the wagons. The space inside was made wider than usual by blocking out the

lower ends of the bows where they were bolted to the sides of the wagons. . . . Finally the wagons were rather heavily loaded with household goods, trunks, bedding, and some light farming implements, etc. The one span of horses on the place was sold with some other things and five yoke of oxen purchased at $80 to $90 per yoke, the fifth pair having been trained to pull in harnesses. . . . A cow and grown colt were also taken along." On April 12, 1880, the Arnolds left Houston County and made their slow way through Preston, Chatfield, and Cannon Falls, to the Twin Cities. They then started west, going by way of St. Cloud, Fergus Falls, and Moorhead; and after sundry other stops "the first three occupants of Larimore township in Grand Forks County, N. D." reached their destination. The story of this enterprise, typical in its general features of the emigration of thousands of Minnesotans, is told in considerable detail in chapter 1 — on "The Journey to North Dakota" — of the book under review.

The experiences of the Arnolds in North Dakota, where they raised wheat to their hearts' content and became large farmers, need not be told here. Mr. Arnold's chapters on establishing the settlement, subdividing the township, affairs in 1881, the boom year and later, lagging years for town and country, the late eighties and the early nineties, railroad division times, and the recent period, bring the story down to date. The author, writing of his North Dakota township with an affection rooted in his forty years residence there, is not unlike that charming creation of Herbert Quick, Jacob Vandemark.

Forty Years in North Dakota is of interest to the student of Minnesota history in its relations to the history of North Dakota. It is a document of the westward movement. It is an interesting personal record. But alas, it can be read only by those who possess strong eyes, for it was printed by means of a "private outfit of printing material." Evidently there has been a typographical battle and the casualties — torn words and mutilated sentences — limp and stagger across the pages.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

A new venture of the society in the field of publication is a monthly check list of current documents issued by the various state departments, boards, and commissions, and by state-supported societies and institutions. The first number, for July, 1923, appeared as a four-page folder in September. It is believed that the publication of this list will be of great assistance to the society in the difficult task of keeping its files of state documents complete and up-to-date, and also to other libraries, institutions, and individuals, who want to keep informed about Minnesota publications. The list will be distributed to the various state departments and institutions concerned, to members of the legislature, to schools and libraries which subscribe to the society's publications, to Minnesota newspapers, and to such members of the society and exchanges as express a desire to be put on the mailing list.

Two life members, Edward C. Congdon of Duluth and Ambrose Tighe of St. Paul, became patrons of the society during the three months ending September 30, 1923. During the same period the transfer of four life members, Henry S. Blakeley and James H. Skinner of St. Paul, William A. McGonagle of Duluth, and John R. Swann of Madison, to the class of contributing-life members brought the total of this group to twenty-two. The additions to the active membership during the quarter numbered 63, which bring the total to 1,125. A list of the names of the new members, grouped by counties, follows:

ANOKA: Theresa Ericksen of Anoka.

BELTRAMI: Fremont P. Wirth of Bemidji.

BLUE EARTH: Charles T. Taylor of Mankato.

BROWN: Richard Sallet of New Ulm.

CARLTON: Henry G. Stevens of Cloquet.

CROW WING: Dr. Walter Courtney, Louis B. Kinder, and George H. Stone, all of Brainerd.

FILLMORE: George A. Haven of Chatfield.

GOODHUE: George W. Garrard of Frontenac.

HENNEPIN: Dr. Fred L. Adair, James F. Bell, Dan C. Brown, Elbert L. Carpenter, Charles M. Case, John F. McGee, J. Lewis Maynard, Harry N. Owen, Reverend Stanley H. Perry, Charles H. Ramsdell, James B. Sutherland, Dr. David O. Thomas, Mrs. David O. Thomas, Edward M. Van Cleve, and Jesse H. Wakeman of Minneapolis; and Frank A. Bovey and John M. Wulfing of Wayzata.

MARTIN: Dr. Ferd N. Hunt of Fairmont.

MOWER: Nathan F. Banfield, Edward N. Hoffman, George A. Hormel, John L. Mitchell, and D. R. Spieker of Austin; and F. W. Kimball of Waltham.

OLMSTED: Arthur C. Gooding and George B. Knowlton of Rochester.

POLK: Conrad G. Selvig of Crookston.

RAMSEY: Daniel M. Brigham, Mrs. Bertram W. Downs, Amy W. Noll, Mrs. Herbert C. Varney, and Daniel E. Willard, all of St. Paul.

RED LAKE: Leland E. Healy of Red Lake Falls.

RICE: Frank A. Turek of Morristown.

ST. LOUIS: Marshall H. Alworth, John B. Arnold, Lewis G. Castle, Mrs. Mary E. Coffin, Henry J. Grannis, Sydney A. Harley, Hans B. Haroldson, James H. Harper, Luther C. Harris, John W. Hunt, Seth Marshall, and William J. Olcott of Duluth; and Robert H. Ely of Eveleth.

STEELE: Dr. Benedik Melby of Blooming Prairie.

WILKIN: Henry Schendel of Campbell.

WINONA: Sister M. Aquinas of Winona.

NONRESIDENT: Carl W. Blegen of Athens, Greece; Henry E. Huntington of San Gabriel, California; and John R. Van Cleve of Salt Lake City, Utah.

The number of subscriptions to the society's publications from schools and public libraries has been increased to 114 by the addition of six institutions during the last quarter. These include the public libraries of Brainerd, Grand Rapids, and Red Wing; the libraries of the University High School, Minneapolis, and of Humboldt High School, St. Paul; and the library of Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis.

The society lost six active members by death during the last quarter: the Honorable Fred C. Stevens of St. Paul, July 1; Horace V. Winchell of Los Angeles, California, July 27; George H. Haven of Chatfield, August 5; William L. Harris of Minneapolis, September 11; Mrs. Charles J. A. Morris of St. Paul, September 12; and the Honorable Calvin L. Brown of Minneapolis, September 24. Benjamin Sulte of Ottawa, Canada, an honorary member, died on August 6. The deaths of a corresponding member, the Reverend William S. Bell of St. Maries, Idaho, on May 23, 1920, and of an active member, Charles N. Nelson of Port Washington, New York, on May 24, 1923, have not been reported in previous numbers of the BULLETIN.

In view of the fact that the society now has two meetings a year, each with several public sessions for the reading of papers, the holding of public sessions in connection with the stated meetings of the executive council in October and April has been discontinued. At the meeting of the council on October 8 some of the recent additions to the manuscript collections were described and exhibited by the curator, Dr. Grace Lee Nute. The council voted at this meeting to authorize the establishment of a statewide committee of the society on membership, the intention being that, so far as possible, there shall be at least one member of the committee in each county of the state.

Considerable progress has been made upon the preparation of a bibliography of Minnesota newspapers and an inventory of extant files, a project undertaken jointly by the society and the graduate school of the University of Minnesota. An inventory of the society's files has been completed and a mass of information about other papers has been collected from newspaper annuals and similar sources of information. The work will be continued and in the course of time the data collected will be digested and prepared for publication.

Photostatic reproductions are being made of certain early copies of the *Dakota Democrat* and the *Black Hills Pioneer,* rare old newspapers owned by the State Historical Society of South Dakota and the Minnesota Historical Society. As the file of each society contains certain numbers not in the other file, the photostat is being called into use to fill the gaps for both societies.

Six talks have now been broadcast in the monthly series given in the interest of Minnesota history by representatives of the society at the Twin City radio station WLAG. The fourth was delivered on July 16 by the curator of the museum on "A Pioneer Indian Agent at Fort Snelling." On August 27 the superintendent told "The Story of the Grand Portage," and on September 17 the assistant superintendent discussed "Old Manuscripts and Minnesota History."

During July, August, and September, 7,537 books were served to 1,315 readers in the library. Although these figures indicate that considerably less use of the library is made during the summer than in the spring months (see *ante,* p. 141, 221), nevertheless the number of books served during the last quarter represents an increase of 1,151, or 18 per cent, over the service for the corresponding three months of 1922, and an increase of 4,387, or 138 per cent, over the service for the corresponding period in 1921.

With the opening of the new fiscal year on July 1, book-purchasing, which had been somewhat checked for a few months for lack of funds, was renewed and important recent publications in the field of the society's library were acquired. In view of the high cost of books and the constantly increasing output, special attention is being given to avoiding unnecessary duplication of material available in other libraries in the Twin Cities. In some cases cards will be entered in the society's catalogue containing references to such material in other libraries, thus helping to prevent duplication and at the same time making the catalogue to a certain extent an index to the resources of the community in the field of Americana.

This year, for the second time, the society had an exhibit in the state building at the state fair. The chief object of the exhibit was to illustrate the various activities of the society. Thousands of persons examined the museum objects, photographs, charts, and photostats which were on display. On one wall of the booth an excellent exhibit was presented by the Minnesota War Records Commission. The traveling exhibit, which was used at the summer meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society (see *post,* p. 322), was brought back in time to be incorporated with the state fair exhibit.

The curator of manuscripts, in connection with her vacation, spent several weeks searching for Minnesota material in the East, observing the work of similar departments in other institutions and supervising the work of making a calendar of the American Fur Company Papers in the possession of the New York Historical Society (see *ante,* p. 224, and *post,* p. 307). While in Concord, New Hampshire, Dr. Nute inspected a collection of letters sent home from La Pointe by the Congregational missionary to the Indians, the Reverend Sherman Hall. She obtained permission to have these letters — more than a hundred in number — photostated by the Massachusetts Historical Society. When this work has been done the society will receive a valuable addition to its sources on early Minnesota history. At the Congregational House in Boston Dr. Nute examined some twenty volumes of letters of instructions to missionaries among whom were such well-known Minnesota men as Boutwell and Ayer.

A multiplex display fixture with glass-covered wing screens to be used in exhibiting the Charles P. Noyes coin collection has been purchased for the society by Mrs. Noyes.

The superintendent attended the meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society at Virginia on August 6 and 7 and participated in the program on the second day (see *post,* p. 322). He spoke at a Leif Ericson celebration in Minneapolis on September 29 (see *post,* p. 312) and again on the same subject at a similar meeting in Duluth the next day.

Miss Elizabeth Clark, the head cataloguer, attended the annual meeting of the Minnesota Library Association, held in Faribault from September 3 to 5.

Miss Dorothy Ware of St. Paul, who was graduated from the University of Minnesota in June, became accessions assistant in the library on September 10, succeeding Miss Ada Liddell, who returns to her studies at the university. With the resignation of Miss Hazel Ohman as reference assistant, to take effect on October 15, Miss Ware has been appointed to that position. Miss Irene Bulov will be advanced from catalogue clerk to accessions assistant and Miss Elizabeth Sergent takes the position

of catalogue clerk. Miss Ohman has accepted a position with the James J. Hill Reference Library of St. Paul.

A Search for Manuscripts of Minnesota Interest in Montreal

From June 21 to July 5, Dr. Wayne E. Stevens of Dartmouth College, who has devoted several years of study to the history of the fur trade in the upper Mississippi Valley and the Canadian Northwest, made a search on behalf of the society for manuscripts of Minnesota interest in Montreal. Most of the papers that came to light date from the British period when the fur trade centered at Montreal, with ramifications throughout the upper Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes region. In some cases the documents which were found, although they have no specific connection with Minnesota, throw light on the fur trade generally and, therefore, possess great value to students of the trade in any part of the region.

Dr. Stevens examined five depositories: the Redpath Library in McGill University, the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice, the McCord National Museum, the Chateau de Ramesay, and the Archives of the District of Montreal; and selected for photostatic reproduction such items as seemed of special importance.

The most valuble material in the Redpath Library, so far as the fur trade is concerned, is the Masson Collection, a part of a large group of manuscripts originally assembled by Louis R. Masson, who edited the important *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest,* a two-volume compilation of fur-trade documents published at Quebec in 1889. The material from the Masson Collection photostated for the society includes: (1) the journal of Edward Umfréville, which describes an expedition made in 1784 — after the treaty terminating the Revolution — for the purpose of discovering an alternative route to that by way of Grand Portage; (2) a list of men and the various departments of the Northwest Company for 1805; (3) a description of the falls of "Steep Rocks" near Fort William, June 22, 1808, probably by Donald McKenzie; (4) Dr. John McLaughlin's description of the country from Fort William to the Lake of the Woods, written about 1805; (5) the journal of Archibald N. McLeod,

covering the period from July 16 to July 28, 1784, an illuminating record of the activities of a Northwest Company fur-trader; and (6) the journal of John McDonell for 1793, an unsigned document the authorship of which was established by Dr. Stevens. A part of McDonell's journal was published by Masson in 1889, but he did not include the sixty-page manuscript which has now been identified as the earlier portion of the journal. A few papers from other collections of manuscripts in the Redpath Library also were photostated.

The McCord National Museum yielded no manuscripts of interest for Minnesota history, but it was found to contain many portraits of men famous in the history of the Northwest Company. Naturally some of these portraits are of considerable interest for the student of the Minnesota fur trade. Nothing of value for Minnesota history was found in the Chateau de Ramesay.

At the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice Dr. Stevens examined the Baby Collection, so named because the manuscripts comprising it were assembled by a Judge Baby of Montreal. A considerable number of papers from this collection were photostated for the society. The item of most importance is the unpublished minutes of the Northwest Company, probably the most valuable source of information on the operations of the company which Dr. Stevens found at Montreal. It was located among the Samuel Gerrard Papers, a group of manuscripts in the larger Baby Collection. Among miscellaneous documents from this collection which were copied for the society are a number of papers relating to Jonathan Carver and some interesting business records which well illustrate the methods employed in the fur trade about 1794.

The most informing papers examined in the Archives of the District of Montreal were the notarial records. It was an *engagement* found among these papers that proved that John McDonell was the author of the unsigned diary found in the Masson Collection. In the diary Dr. Stevens noted the following entry: "1793. May 10th Signed my Engagement with the North-West Company for five years to winter in the Indian Country as a clerk the terms are £100 at the expiration and found in necessaries." Among the notarial bonds for 1793, which the

Montreal archivist produced, Dr. Stevens found a paper dated May 10 and signed by John McDonell, pledging him to enter the Indian country for five years, his remuneration to be one hundred pounds and necessaries. The evidence is proof of the authorship of the diary. The case is a good illustration of the possible value of such records as the *engagements*.

The result of this search at Montreal is a large addition of fur-trade records to the manuscript collection of the society. In the form of photostats these records are now available for students and doubtless will prove an invaluable contribution to knowledge of the British period of Minnesota history.

Accessions

The society's growing collection of Knute Nelson Papers has been augmented by four new gifts during the quarter. Governor Preus has presented a large folder of correspondence, mainly between Senator Nelson and Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll of St. Paul, relating to the placing of the statue of Henry M. Rice in Statuary Hall in Washington. A file of correspondence between Senator Nelson and a committee of Minnesota traveling men, which has been presented by Mr. Wright T. Orcutt of Minneapolis, throws light upon the influence of the traveling men of the state in persuading Nelson to be a candidate to succeed himself in 1918. A few additional Nelson letters also have been received from Mrs. James T. Morris and Mr. Paul J. Thompson of Minneapolis.

The society continues to receive calendar cards for fur-trade letters of Minnesota interest among the American Fur Company Papers owned by the New York Historical Society (see *ante,* p. 224). Among the names represented are Henry H. Sibley, Charles H. Oakes, Alexis Bailly, Samuel Abbot, William T. Boutwell, Anthony Dudgeon, Moses D. Burnet, John Jacob Astor, Henry R. Schoolcraft, John Furey, and N. D. Grover. The manuscripts listed are chiefly from the late thirties and early forties.

Twenty-seven papers have been added to the Daniel A. Robertson Papers through the kindness of Mr. Victor Robertson of

St. Paul. They are valuable because they throw light on the relation between territorial land speculation and immigration in Minnesota. Robertson, as a land speculator, was particularly interested in the development of Chengwatana, Minnesota. See *ante,* p. 198, n.

A copy of a reminiscent letter written in 1870 by Wayne Clark to Mrs. Catharine M. Smith of Winona, recalling events of May, 1852, when Winona was Wabasha Prairie, has been donated by Mrs. Smith's son, Mr. Orrin F. Smith of Winona.

A letter written by Byron M. Smith in St. Paul on June 29, 1855, to his relatives in New York has been presented by Miss May Baldwin of Spokane, Washington. An interesting feature of the letter is its version of the legend about White Bear Lake, explaining the origin of the name.

A collection of letters and documents of William B. and Thomas P. Gere, dealing with political conditions in Minnesota from 1857 to 1864 and with Civil War experiences, has been presented by a niece, Mrs. Minnie Hosier of Chatfield. It is interesting to note that the society's attention was first called to these papers by a class of high school students who were exploring the history of their own locality. See *ante,* p. 158.

A manuscript record book containing copies of the official orders of Company M, First Regiment, Minnesota Mounted Rangers, for 1862 and 1863, is the gift of Mr. George H. Daimond of St. Paul.

The souvenir menu of a complimentary dinner at the Merchants Hotel, St. Paul, in May, 1858, to Captain D. S. Harris of Galena, Illinois, who brought the first steamboat of that season, is the gift of Mrs. Medora O. F. Morrill of Chatfield. She has also sent an account of how Captain Harris raced to bring the first cablegram to St. Paul.

A letter from Governor John S. Pillsbury of March 15, 1876, dealing with the relief of Jackson County sufferers from the grasshopper plague is the gift of Mr. P. D. McKellar of St. Paul.

The society has received a typewritten copy of an autobiography of Mr. Walter Stone Pardee of Chicago, which possesses

much Minnesota interest. Mr. Pardee was graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1877 and was for many years a Minneapolis city official. His reminiscences are arranged as short sketches, each with a suggestive title, examples of which are "Of Early St. Anthony's Falls," "An Early Minnesota Private School," and "Concerning the University of Minnesota."

The files of archives from the governor's office in the custody of the society are now reasonably complete for the period from 1849 to 1908. Eighteen additional volumes, consisting mainly of letter-press books, have been received, including fourteen volumes of executive correspondence for the years 1889 to 1904 and two volumes of the correspondence of the board of pardons for 1900 to 1905.

To the large collection of Maria Sanford Papers acquired in January (see *ante,* p. 145) Mrs. James T. Morris of Minneapolis has added another letter. It is to be hoped that other persons owning letters from this famous Minnesota woman will follow Mrs. Morris' example.

The books and papers of the St. Croix Valley Old Settlers' Association have come to the society, through the courtesy of Mrs. Nellie P. Bloomer of White Bear Lake, from Mrs. Arline Brown of St. Paul. The records are valuable for the large amount of biographical information which they contain regarding pioneer settlers.

The manuscript of an address on "The Long Expedition Through the Red River Valley to Fort Garry in 1823," by Mr. Conrad G. Selvig of Crookston, has been received from the author. A manuscript entitled "Early Recollections of the Duluth and Iron Range Rail Road" has been presented by its author, Mr. William A. McGonagle of Duluth. See *post,* p. 317, 322.

Two interesting additions to the portrait collection have recently been made. A framed enlargement of a photograph of the late Michael J. Dowling is the gift of Mrs. Dowling of Olivia; and the Honorable Samuel R. Van Sant has presented a large framed pastel portrait of himself which was given to him in 1895

when he was speaker of the House of Representatives in the state legislature.

A fine suit of Persian armor, a circular steel shield, two Arab flintlock guns inlaid and mounted with ivory and silver, a Persian scimitar and scabbard, a Bedouin shield and steel-tipped lances, and a Spanish flintlock blunderbuss are included in an unusual collection of objects presented by Mrs. Charles N. Nelson of Port Washington, New York. They were gathered during years of travel by her husband, the late Charles N. Nelson, a pioneer lumberman in Minnesota and a member of the society for many years.

Mr. David W. Morison of St. Paul has presented a number of pieces of Lowestoft china; a cup, a saucer, a soup plate, and a bowl of Spode ware; a pair of brass lamps; and several other articles of interest. He and his brother, Mr. Stanford N. Morison of New York City, have deposited a large punch bowl of Chinese ware, a pair of bronze candelabra, two bronze lamps, and a framed steel engraving of Benjamin Franklin.

Two pipes which belonged to Sitting Bull and a collection of Indian photographs, including autographed pictures of Sitting Bull and Rain-in-the-Face, have been presented by Mr. E. J. Whiting of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Several recent additions have been made to the society's collection of objects illustrating military history. These include the escutcheon and military badges of General Lucius F. Hubbard, presented by Mr. L. V. Hubbard of Minneapolis; and a military flintlock musket, dated 1762 and used in the Revolution, deposited by Mr. Thomas F. Kelly of St. Paul.

An oxcart chair bearing the date 1743, which was used by women as a means of keeping their dresses clean when going to church, is the gift of Miss Harriet M. Robinson of Minneapolis.

A specimen of the handiwork of women in the Civil War period, a framed wreath of seeds and nuts which was made by Eliza Huntington, has been deposited by Mr. Ebenezer E. Huntington of St. Paul.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Not infrequently people assume that history is concerned only with events of long ago and that if the events involve bloodshed and tragedy their historic quality is intensified. Such an assumption is not unnatural, for dramatic happenings excite popular interest and there is a spark of antiquarianism in most human beings. Actually the development of agriculture within a given region is probably far more significant than all its Indian wars, and the historical importance of recent events is not less than that of the earlier. Episodes are of far less consequence than steps in a process of development. In brief, much of the development which has produced present-day conditions has been essentially peaceful and undramatic, a fact not less true of the state and the locality than of the entire nation. Interesting illustrations of this point of view are afforded by such recent books as Dr. Joseph Schafer's study of the history of Wisconsin agriculture (see *ante,* p. 132), and Mr. Lyman Carrier's *The Beginnings of Agriculture in America* (New York, 1923. 323 p.). The first chapter in the latter work consists of a suggestive essay on the "Value of Agricultural History."

A detailed study of the Winnebago tribe of Indians by Paul Radin makes up the bulk of the *Thirty-seventh Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1923. 560 p.).

Indian and White in the Northwest, a History of Catholicity in Montana, 1831 to 1891, by L. B. Palladino (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1922. 512 p.), is a revision of a work originally published in 1893. More than half of the book is devoted to the history of Catholic missions among the Indians of Montana.

A description of a journey from Norway to America in 1838, written by Ole Nattestad and published as a small book in 1839 at Drammen, Norway, is reprinted in the July and August issues of *Familiens Magasin,* with an introduction setting forth its historical importance. The reprint is from a photostatic copy

of the only original known to be in existence, that in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. An English translation of the book is published in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, 1917.

"Leif Ericson day" was celebrated in Minnesota and in other parts of the United States on September 29 in accordance with plans which were worked out by the American-Scandinavian Foundation. Governor Preus issued a proclamation calling upon citizens of the state to honor the memory of Leif Ericson; and a celebration sponsored by a group of Scandinavian societies was held in the Minneapolis Auditorium on Saturday evening, September 29. After a brief introductory talk by the presiding officer, Dr. Carl M. Roan, a speech on "The Viking Age" was delivered by Dr. Henry A. Bellows, in which the background of Leif Ericson's achievements was described. "The Finding of America" was then discussed by Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, with particular emphasis upon the accounts in the sagas which furnish the chief source of information on the subject. A third speaker, Judge Trygve O. Gilbert of Willmar, spoke on "The Norse Contribution to America," dealing especially with the part played by Norwegian immigrants and their descendants in the history of the Middle West. An interesting article by Dr. Bellows on Leif Ericson and the significance of his finding of America appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for September 23. The September number of the *American-Scandinavian Review* contains a number of articles on Leif Ericson and the Northmen. Dr. Laurence M. Larson writes on "The Vinland Voyages," and there are articles on "Leif Ericson Conquering America," by Harry Sundby-Hansen; on "The First Scandinavian Settlers in Greenland; Medieval Paris Fashions in the Far North," by Paul Nörlund; and on "The Sailing Craft of the Vikings."

An article on "Valdris Samband og dets Ledende Mænd," by Juul Dieserud, is published in volume 16, numbers 4 and 5, of *Nordmandsforbundet*. Mr. Dieserud describes the origin and history of Valdris Samband, a *bygdelag* composed of people tracing their ancestry to the Norwegian district of Valders.

Major Stephen H. Long's report on the expedition to the mouth of the Yellowstone River in 1820, the original of which is in the archives of the war department, is published as part of an article by Captain Fred A. Bill in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, for August 4, 11, and 18, under the title "First Steam Vessel on Western Rivers." Captain Bill's chief interest is in the steamboat "Western Engineer," which, after accompanying the Long party up the Missouri to "the Council Bluffs," returned to St. Louis with orders to proceed "up the Mississippi to the De Moyen rapids, and thence down the river to Cape Girardeau."

The paper on "James Dickson: A Filibuster in Minnesota in 1836," which was read by Dr. Grace Lee Nute at the last annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society (see *ante*, p. 116), is published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September. As a supplement to the paper several documents relating to the subject are printed with a brief introduction by Dr. Nute. These are drawn from the Canadian Archives, the British foreign office, and the Martin McLeod Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. The documents printed form a valuable body of source material on an interesting subject in the history of the Northwest, but Dr. Nute points out that the most interesting document of the expedition is the diary of Martin McLeod, as yet unpublished. Another article in the *Review* of interest to Minnesota readers is on "Trans-Mississippi Railroads During the Fifties," by Robert E. Riegel. In the brief survey of the railroad situation in Minnesota which the author presents, several minor errors are made which might have been avoided if he had consulted the first volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*.

The withdrawal of Dr. Clarence W. Alvord as managing editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* is announced in the September issue of that periodical. Dr. Alvord also has resigned as professor of history at the University of Minnesota. He announces that he has accepted an opportunity to devote all his time to the writing of history and that he has "elected to spend the next two years or more in England to finish several volumes already started or projected." Dr. Alvord's broad

scholarship and unflagging enthusiasm are largely responsible for the present standing of the periodical which he has guided "along the path of scientific truth" as the "representative review devoted to American history." In withdrawing from its editorial management he suggests that its scope be extended to the limits of its reputation and that "there be admitted to its pages articles on all phases of our national development, whether eastern or western."

A new contribution to the history of the "agrarian crusade" is made in an article entitled "The Economic Basis of the Populist Movement in Iowa," by Herman C. Nixon, which is published in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July. In the same magazine is a general sketch of "The Development of Trans-Mississippi Political Geography," by Ruth L. Higgins.

The July number of the *Palimpsest* contains several essays written in celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the Mississippi River by Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette. Among these articles may be noted the following: "The Discovery," by Bruce E. Mahan; "Father Marquette," by Ruth B. Middaugh; and "Louis Joliet," by John E. Briggs. The "Restorer of Iowa Palimpsests," whose work is discussed by Bertha M. H. Shambaugh in the August number of the same magazine, is none other than Mr. Herbert Quick, the author of two historical novels dealing with Iowa conditions. It is interesting to note that Mr. Quick speaks of himself simply as "sitting in the wagon of history with my feet dangling down and facing the rear."

Several state historical organizations have embarked upon enterprises involving the editing and publication of some of the fundamental sources of their history. Three volumes in a series entitled *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* have been issued by the State Historical Society of Missouri (Columbia, Missouri, 1922. 526, 528, 541 p.). These volumes, which are compiled and edited by Buel Leopard and Floyd C. Shoemaker, cover the period from 1820 to 1864. Only formal documents are printed, that is, regular, veto, and special messages; proclamations; and memoranda of

proclamations and writs of election. In order that the reader may appreciate the background of the messages, a biographical account of each governor precedes the documents of his administration. The Indiana Historical Commission has begun the publication of *Governors' Messages and Letters* for Indiana, and in this series two volumes, edited by Logan Esary, have appeared. The second of these, which is volume 9 of the *Indiana Historical Collections* (Indianapolis, 1922. 772 p.), covers the period from 1812 to 1816. It is interesting to note that not only formal messages and documents but also many letters written by and to the Indiana governors are included in the publication. If this plan is carried forward the result will be a comprehensive collection of the correspondence of the Indiana governors. Another interesting type of state publication is that illustrated by a series of volumes being prepared by the division of archives and history of the University of the State of New York. Dr. James Sullivan, director of this division and state historian, has now edited three volumes of *The Papers of Sir William Johnson.* These cover the years from 1738 to 1762, but, as the manuscripts upon which the work is based come down to 1808, several additional volumes in the series will be issued. The publication of these papers is an important event not only for the study of New York history but also for the history of the entire West, for Sir William Johnson was the British government's superintendent in charge of affairs relating to all the northern Indians from 1756 to 1774.

In the last number of the BULLETIN attention was called to a series of articles on North Dakota history published in the April number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the University of North Dakota. The July number of the same periodical contains a series of articles dealing with the history of the University of North Dakota. Particularly interesting is Professor John M. Gillette's study of the "Social and Economic Background of the University of North Dakota in the Eighties of Last Century." Among other articles in the number are: "The Founding of the University," by Vernon P. Squires; "Student Life During the First Decade of the University of North Dakota," by Mrs. Mattie Glass Massee; "Webster Merrifield and the University

of North Dakota," by Earle J. Babcock; and "Pioneers in Education in North Dakota," by E. J. Taylor. The discontinuance of the *Quarterly Journal* is announced with the July number.

Four sites of historic interest have recently been donated to the state of North Dakota to be converted into state parks. All are scenes of events connected with the Sibley expedition of 1863 and one is the site of Camp Atchison.

The "Golden Jubilee Edition" of the *Bismarck* [North Dakota] *Tribune,* issued on July 11, contains numerous articles of interest to Minnesotans. The *Tribune,* which was the first newspaper in North Dakota, was established on July 11, 1873. In the jubilee issue interesting items are drawn from the old files and an article describing the coming of the Northern Pacific Railroad to Bismarck is contributed by Mr. Olin D. Wheeler.

A step toward better teaching of state history in Oregon has been taken by the superintendent of public instruction in that state through the issuance of a forty-page pamphlet entitled *History of Oregon, a Teachers' Outline for Use in the Eighth Grade.* Miss Lilli Schmidli contributes some well-considered "Suggestions to Teachers" in which she presents reasons for the teaching of state history to boys and girls and shows the hollowness of the view that history deals only with something grand and courageous which somebody did somewhere else.

An address "to the citizens of each county in the state of Texas, urging them to organize in their respective counties a County Historical Society to be affiliated with the Texas Historical Association" is published in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for July.

A study of "Some Social Traits of Teutons" comprises the fourth installment of the series on "The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin," by Joseph Schafer, in the September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History.* A suggestive article on "The Historical Society and Genealogical Research," by Arthur Adams, appears in the same number.

The house erected more than a hundred years ago by the fur-trader, Michel Brisbois, at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, is the subject of a brief article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 1.

The claim is made that this dwelling, which is still in use, is the oldest in the upper Mississippi Valley. A picture of the house accompanies the article.

A centennial tour under the auspices of the Minnesota Red River Valley Development Association was made from Crookston to Winnipeg on August 19 in commemoration of the exploration of the upper Red River Valley by Major Stephen H. Long in August, 1823. On August 20 a luncheon was held at Kildonan Park, Winnipeg, and a program of speeches followed. The principal address was delivered by Mr. Conrad G. Selvig, superintendent of the Northwest School and Experiment Station at Crookston, who told the story of the Long expedition, devoting particular attention to Long's experiences in the Red River Valley. The *Manitoba Free Press* of Winnipeg for August 18 prints an account of the visit of the Long party to Pembina and Fort Garry.

The *Manitoba Free Press* of Winnipeg has been running a series of articles entitled "Notables Who Have Visited Winnipeg." Accounts are included of the sojourns in the "city, settlement and ancient fur-post" of the following celebrities: Legardeur de Saint-Pierre, explorer, June 16; the "famous North-West company bourgeois John McDonald, of Garth," June 23; the Earl of Selkirk, June 30; the Reverend John West, who "managed to lay the foundation of a great church in the wilderness" between 1820 and 1823, July 28; Major Stephen H. Long, August 8; the Sioux chiefs, Burning Earth and Ulaneta, August 11; and Governor Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota, September 1.

General Minnesota Items

"Minnesota in the United States Senate — A Roll of Illustrious Names" is the title of a résumé of the state's record in the upper house of Congress in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 15. It includes sketches of the careers of seventeen men whom Minnesota has sent to the Senate during its sixty-five years of statehood and recalls the many hot political struggles incident to their elections. Portraits of Senators Cushman K. Davis,

Knute Nelson, Alexander Ramsey, James Shields, William D. Washburn, and William Windom illustrate the article.

Mr. John Talman is the author of a chronological narrative in verse published recently under the title *Minnesota in Panorama: An Historical Poem With Notes by the Author* (Mapleton, 1923. 34 p.). A few verses on the Spanish and World wars have been added to the original, which was read on October 10, 1910, before an open meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, of which the author is the newspaper librarian.

A large amount of historical information about the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks in Minnesota is contained in a pamphlet entitled *The Story of the Elks,* compiled by Peter F. Owens for the nineteenth annual state convention of the organization at Hibbing on August 16 and 17 (38 p.).

A booklet entitled *Loren Harrison Batchelder: In Memoriam,* edited by Henry L. Osborn (St. Paul, 1923. 28 p.), has been published by Hamline University in honor of a professor who played a prominent part in the history of that college. From 1883 to 1917 Mr. Batchelder held the chair of chemistry and for many years he also served as dean. He died on September 11, 1922. The booklet is made up chiefly of addresses given by Dr. George H. Bridgman, Dr. Henry L. Osborn, the Reverend Frank L. Cone, Mr. James M. Hackney, and President Samuel F. Kerfoot at a memorial service held in the college chapel on October 2, 1922.

An article about Leonidas Merritt and the opening of the Mesabi Range is published in the *American Magazine* for September. The compiler of the article, Mr. Neil M. Clark, fortunately has allowed Mr. Merritt to tell in his own words the interesting story of the finding of iron ore on the Mesabi.

The fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the Duluth and Iron Range Railroad was celebrated at Two Harbors on July 19. An interesting feature of the occasion was an address by the president of the railroad, Mr. William A. McGonagle of Duluth, recounting his experiences in connection with the early history of the road. The address is published in the *Lake County Chronicle* of Two Harbors for July 26.

Mr. W. H. Brill's comprehensive series of articles dealing with the trunk highways of the state continues from July 1 to September 30 in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune*. The fourteen illustrated articles which have appeared in this series during the period indicated deal with highways number 15 to 44 inclusive. Mr. Brill has assembled a large amount of historical information centering about the place names along the various highways of which he writes.

A special course in Minnesota history is being given in the Frazee State High School under the direction of Mr. Arthur D. White, the superintendent.

The popularity of historical pageantry in Minnesota indicates that an increasing number of communities in the state are becoming aware of the effectiveness of living pictures in vivifying the past for the average person. In June at least four pageants of local history were presented in Minnesota (see *ante,* p. 240). Similar interesting spectacles were produced at Spring Valley on July 19 and 20, at Worthington on July 23 and 24, at Rochester on August 23 and 25, and at Glencoe on August 31 and September 1. In Worthington an extensive collection of historical relics was assembled at the time of the pageant and displayed in the windows of local shops as a kind of community loan exhibit. A list of these articles, with the names of the owners, fills about four columns in the *Worthington Globe* for July 26. Among the items mentioned are manuscripts, books, pictures, articles of wearing apparel, household furnishings, and crude farm implements. The successful assembling of this exhibit constitutes excellent evidence both of the suggestive historical value of local pageants and of the practicability of community historical museums.

Constitution Day, on Monday, September 17, was celebrated throughout the state with appropriate meetings, addresses, and ceremonies. Much attention was naturally devoted to the history of the framing of the Constitution and to its significance in the development of the nation.

A letter from Colonel W. C. Brown, which is printed in the *St. Peter Herald* of September 7, contains some information concerning early conditions at Traverse des Sioux, where Colonel Brown was born in 1854.

The story of the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, told from the point of view of a soldier who helped to suppress it, is published in weekly installments in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune* from June 24 to August 5. The author is Thomas Watts of Minneapolis, who fought against the Indians as a member of Company C, Sixth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. He not only describes the battles in which he participated, the horrors of the massacre, and the condition of the devastated frontier, but also gives an interesting picture of army life — of "the crude military equipment and discipline . . . and the lack of any official food provision."

On August 22 the sixty-first anniversary of the siege of Fort Ridgely was commemorated at the state park on its site by members of the Fort Ridgely State Park and Historical Association. In an address before the gathering, Mr. Jacob F. Jacobson of Madison reviewed the early history of the section of the Minnesota Valley in which the fort was located. An announcement of the celebration in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 19 is followed by a long feature article embodying reminiscences of some of the survivors of the Sioux Massacre who are still living.

A number of reunions of survivors of Minnesota regiments have been held recently. On August 11 members of the Thirteenth Minnesota Regimental Association assembled at Fort Snelling for a three-day celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Manila. Twelve men who fought against the Sioux in 1862 as members of the Sixth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry met at the Capitol in St. Paul on September 8, and seven veterans of the Ninth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry exchanged reminiscences at the home of Dr. Kee Wakefield of Minneapolis on September 5.

In the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of August 26 some early state fairs are described in connection with an account of the plans for the 1923 exhibition. The more important attractions are noted and statistics are given for the fair of 1857 at St. Paul, of 1860 at Fort Snelling, of 1865 at Minneapolis, and of 1885 at the "permanent location of the State Fair grounds at Hamline."

The story of Michael J. Dowling and his career is told by Earl Christmas in the *Dearborn Independent* for August 11.

Articles about pioneers are, as usual, numerous in the newspapers of the past three months. A biographical sketch of Mrs. Mary Noltimier of Newport, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 26, is combined with a history of the German Methodist Episcopal Church of Woodbury, near St. Paul, of which she is the only surviving charter member. The seventieth anniversary of the founding of the church was celebrated on September 2. Reminiscences of two pioneer residents of Minneapolis, Mr. Rolla Stubbs of Maple Plain and Mrs. F. D. Todd of Minneapolis, appear respectively in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of July 1 and the *Minneapolis Journal* of the same date. An article about Dr. Brewer Mattocks, a St. Paul pioneer now living at Rhinelander, Wisconsin, is published in the *Pioneer Press* for August 26.

Local History Items

The custom of holding annual historical conventions, which was adopted a year ago by the Minnesota Historical Society, apparently seems worthy of emulation by local organizations. The St. Louis County Historical Society held its first annual summer convention at Virginia on August 6 and 7. A varied and an interesting program with three sessions devoted to historical papers was provided. The convention opened with an evening session on August 6 at which four papers were read. The presiding officer was Mr. M. E. Fanning of Virginia. After an address of welcome by the mayor of Virginia, Mr. William Empie, a paper on "The Old Vermilion Trail" was presented by Mr. William E. Culkin of Duluth, the president of the society. This was followed by papers on "The Iron Ranges in the War," by Mr. Alfred E. Johnson of Virginia; the "Discovery of Iron in St. Louis County," by Mr. Dwight E. Woodbridge of Duluth; and "Early Mining at Eveleth," by Mr. John H. Hearding of Duluth. The presiding officer at the second session, on August 7, at 2:00 P. M., was Mrs. Ervin Lerch of Hibbing. She first introduced Mr. A. E. Bickford of Virginia who discussed the "Early History of Virginia," dealing particularly with the press of that city. Mrs. Mary Lyon Burns of Eveleth then talked on

"The Bright Side of Homesteading." Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the state society, spoke next, taking as his subject "The Outlook for St. Louis County History." The speaker pointed out the possibilities for further development of historical activity in northeastern Minnesota and emphasized particularly the excellent quality of the papers presented at the convention as an indication of the thoughtful interest of the people of this section in their history. Such well-directed enthusiasm, he said, augured well for the fruitful cultivation of this historical field. The last paper of the session was on the "History of the Vermilion Range Press," by Mr. Peter Schaefer of Ely. The last session, at which Mr. N. B. Shank of Biwabik presided, was held at 8:00 P. M. on the same day. A very interesting talk on "Early Railroading on the Iron Ranges," was given by Mr. William A. McGonagle of Duluth. Mrs. Lerch then spoke informally of the early history of Hibbing, and Mr. W. G. Swart of Babbitt read a valuable paper entitled "Notes of Work Done on the Eastern Mesaba Range by Peter Mitchell." The session closed with a paper on "Pioneer Newspapers of the Mesaba Range," by Mr. W. E. Hannaford of Virginia. The traveling exhibit of the Minnesota Historical Society was sent to Virginia for the convention.

The annual reunion of the Vermilion Range Old Settlers' Association was held at Ely on July 26 and 27.

An address by Mrs. O. H. Healy on "Pioneer Preachers" who labored in the vicinity of Mapleton is published in the *Blue Earth County Enterprise* of Mapleton for July 6.

A "Biographical, Booster and Farm Bureau Edition" of the *Ivanhoe Times,* issued on June 1, contains an article on the "History of Lincoln County."

The "History of Martin County," by William H. Budd, which the *Martin County Independent* of Fairmont has been publishing since February 16 (see *ante,* p. 160), is concluded in the issue for July 10. Beginning on September 4 a series of brief biographical sketches of "Governors of Minnesota" appears in the *Independent.*

An illustrated feature article by Helen Driscoll about the home of Ignatius Donnelly at Nininger appears in the *St. Paul Daily News* for July 15. It includes a detailed description of the library, still preserved in its original state, in which Donnelly wrote the books which made his name familiar throughout the English-speaking world.

The issue of the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for June 24 is an anniversary number, marking the passing of half a century since the paper was founded. A biographical sketch and a portrait of A. J. Underwood, who established the *Journal* in 1873; extracts from the first issue; an outline of the growth and development of the paper; and a brief history of Fergus Falls are among the historical data published in this issue.

A series of articles which has been appearing in the *Fergus Falls Tribune* under the title "The Interesting Beginnings of Otter Tail County" consists for the most part of extracts from John W. Mason's history of that county (Indianapolis, 1916). Every now and then, however, an unsigned sketch or some material from a less accessible source is included. For example, on July 19 "Indian Battles at Battle Lake" — incidents in that long conflict between the Sioux and the Chippewa — are described; and on August 9 some reminiscences of Mr. K. O. Sletto, a pioneer of Fergus Falls, are published. Of special interest to readers of the article by Mr. Elmer E. Adams in the May BULLETIN is a brief comment, in the *Tribune* for September 6, on the Nelson-Kindred campaign of 1882, translated from the Norwegian of Peer Strömme.

Typical of tales that could be unearthed about numerous Minnesota towns is a brief history of Wilton, in Waseca County, published in the *Minneapolis Journal* and the *St. Paul Dispatch* of July 30. In 1860 Wilton was a thriving town with a promising future; but the Sioux Outbreak, the passing of the railroad six miles away, and a disastrous fire left it a deserted village within ten years. The recent dissolution of its charter was the occasion for the articles.

At the Sawyer House in Stillwater on July 21 three of the four surviving members attended the annual banquet of the

"Last Man's Club," which was organized in 1885 by thirty-three veterans of Company B, First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. A history of the club by George W. Hazzard is published in the *Stillwater Daily Gazette* of July 21.

Former residents of Read's Landing held their fifteenth annual picnic and reunion at Minnehaha Falls on August 4.

The story of the ferry between Fort Snelling and Mendota, as told by Mr. C. J. Clarkson, its present operator, is reported in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 8.

An "Olde Tyme Party," devoted to "entertainment and practices in vogue fifty years ago," was given on August 6 at Radisson Inn, Christmas Lake, for the merchants of the Northwest who visited St. Paul and Minneapolis during Twin City Market Week. A feature of the entertainment was an exhibit of pictures of buildings and places in the two cities during pioneer days, assembled by the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association and the St. Paul Association. Some of these views are reproduced with announcements of the party in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* and the *Minneapolis Tribune* of July 29.

A feature article based upon the names of St. Anthony residents as listed in the manuscript returns for Minnesota of the census of 1850, now in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for September 9.

The history of the volunteer fire department of Minneapolis, founded in 1856 by Dr. L. P. Foster, is recounted in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 15. The pension list of these pioneer firefighters now contains but "forty-three names, from an original list of thrice that number."

An interesting account of the "newspaper war" of 1876, when from April to October the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* and the *Minneapolis Tribune* were consolidated and published in St. Paul under the title *Pioneer-Press and Tribune,* appears in the *Tribune* for July 8.

A brief biography and a portrait of Alonzo C. Rand accompany an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of September 9 in which

an account is given of the razing of his former residence, a landmark in Minneapolis since 1877.

Members of the Pilgrim Congregational Church of Minneapolis celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding on September 28, 29, and 30. The program for the three days appears, with a brief history of the church, in the *Minneapolis Journal* for September 23.

An excellent historical account of *The Portland Church of Christ, Minneapolis,* by Dr. David Owen Thomas, has been published in pamphlet form in connection with the forty-fifth anniversary of the founding of that church (Minneapolis, 1922. 40 p.).

A biographical sketch of a Minneapolis philanthropist, William H. Eustis, who has recently endowed and donated the land for a hospital for crippled children to be connected with the University of Minnesota, appears with an account of his gift in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 8.

A sketch of the history of the St. Paul Gas Light Company in the *St. Paul Daily News* for August 26 reveals the interesting facts that in 1857 "seventy-two customers were consuming gas in St. Paul drawn from three miles of mains" and that "they were paying $6 a thousand feet for it."

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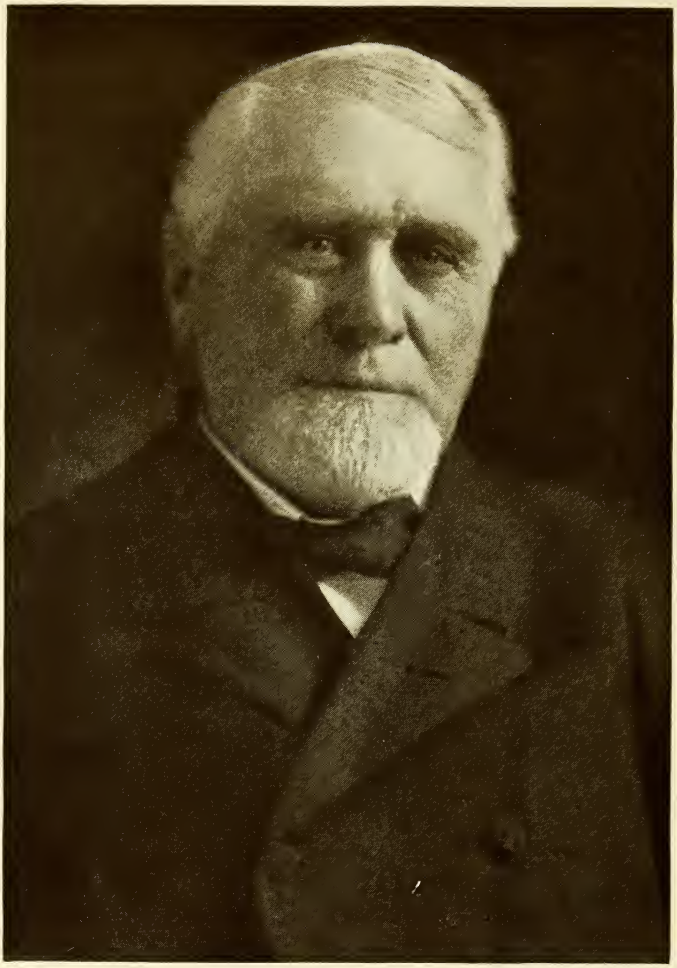

Knute Nelson

KNUTE NELSON[1]

To the extreme north in Europe lies a mountainous little country with a population a little greater than that of Minnesota, with scenic beauty second to none. Since it is washed by the Gulf Stream, its climatic conditions are much like those of our state. Hardy people live there. As fishing, shipping, and agriculture are its principal industries, hardihood has characterized its people at all times. The Vikings of old were both pirates and crusaders. Its poets rank with Homer, its Edda ranks with the Odyssey. Its pagan beliefs were much the same as those of Greece. It is Norway.

Fjords and mountains naturally divide the people into groups which have remained apart and more or less hostile until modern transportation facilities have brought them together. Dialects very dissimilar were developed until almost different languages seem to be found in the various *bygder.* No hardier people are found anywhere in Norway than in Voss, where we frequently find a short, black-haired but blue-eyed type of Norwegian, doubtless representing in part at least the Celtic strain which is found principally in southwestern Norway. In this *bygd,* at Evanger, high up on the mountain side in a little hut on a farm called Kvilekvaal, the late Senator Knute Nelson was born on February 2, 1843. It is needless to say that he was born in poverty. His father died when he was three years old. His father and mother sprang from people who doubtless belonged to the very substantial class from the standpoint of character and industry known as the *bonde* or farmer.

July 4, 1825, records the earliest group immigration from Norway to the United States. The sloop " Restoration, " the " Norwegian Mayflower " as it is sometimes called, on that day

[1] An address read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 14, 1924.

sailed for America. In the years following immigrants came from time to time and soon were drawn to the West. In 1834 an important settlement was founded in Illinois, and later on we find a very substantial immigration to southern Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Iowa, and other parts of the United States.

Senator Nelson's mother must have been an extremely courageous woman. She not only conceived the idea of improving the opportunities for her child at home but deemed it advisable to emigrate to America. She had a brother in this country. Doubtless he influenced her in coming. When her son was six years old she arrived in New York penniless. She had to borrow enough money from friends on board ship to gain admission from Castle Garden. They went to Chicago where illness and poverty forced young Knute to become a newsboy on the streets of the city. Fifteen months later they left for Deerfield, Wisconsin, where there was a substantial settlement of people who had come from Voss. Here in what was then almost a wilderness the mother soon acquired a piece of land. Hard work on the frontier was the lot of her son. He was, however, able to attend district school.

Once while I was taking dictation as Senator Nelson's stenographer, he wrote a letter referring to Mary Dillon. When he had finished the letter I said to him, "You must like Mary Dillon pretty well." He replied "Yes, she was a great woman. She was teacher in the district school in Dane County, Wisconsin, when I was a little boy. She encouraged me particularly in reading good books, especially history, and it is to her I owe my tremendous appetite for reading."

That he lived in poor circumstances can probably be best evidenced by the manner in which he procured his fifth reader. He told the story himself. "I hauled a cord of four foot hard maple wood and traded it even up, for that reader." Spurred on by Mary Dillon's inspiration he succeeded under the most trying circumstances in getting into Albion Academy near his

home in 1858. He studied there until the outbreak of the Civil War in the spring of 1861. He resumed his studies after the war and was graduated in 1865.

Colonel Hans C. Heg organized the famous Fifteenth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, a regiment which acquitted itself extremely creditably in the Civil War, its colonel giving his life at the battle of Chickamauga. Many have the idea that Knute Nelson was a member of this regiment. He was not, and for the very good reason that he enlisted before it was organized. In May, 1861, in fact, he enlisted as a private in Company B, Fourth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry. This regiment in 1863 became the Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry. His regiment was first sent to Washington and Knute Nelson did duty within view of the Capitol and the White House where we now have what is called The Mall. This place then was a swamp with a creek running through it, a very unhealthful spot. In 1861 and in 1923 we find him serving his country in the capital of the nation.

The regiment was soon sent south to join General Butler's gulf expedition. Nelson took part in the capture of Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip and also in the taking of New Orleans on April 30, 1862. His company was part of the expedition which proceeded by the river against Vicksburg. In this expedition he participated in the battle of Baton Rouge in August, 1862, as well as in the various other engagements which were fought. On June 14, 1863, during the charge which was made at the siege of Port Hudson, Nelson fell on the battle field with a wound in the thigh, from which he suffered all his life. From morning until dusk he lay on the field exposed to fire from both sides. He tells of it himself. "I was picked up within four rods of the Confederate breastworks by three young rebels who had come outside to seek for food, haversacks, canteens, and other necessities. . . . Two of the rebels then came up to me and lifted me up — one supporting me under one arm, the other under the other arm, and

between the two I hobbled on one foot inside the breastworks, from where, with other wounded, I was carried in a cart to a hospital in a ravine near the Mississippi River." About a month later Port Hudson surrendered. After spending about two months in the hospital and prison, he was exchanged for a Confederate soldier and went back to his regiment, with which he served faithfully in the hard service of guerrilla warfare.

When his enlistment expired in 1864 he found himself in extremely poor health; and therefore he returned to his home and resumed his studies at Albion Academy, from which he was graduated the following year. During his service in the war he faithfully saved his allowances, which were extremely small inasmuch as the only advancement he gained during his entire service was to the rank of corporal. His money he husbanded in the most careful manner, sending most of it home to support his mother. The two together, however, were able to save enough to have him resume his studies.

A fellow soldier tells the following illustrative anecdote about Nelson, the soldier: "One evening at 'water call,' as I was going to the river to water my horse, I saw a soldier of Co. E snatch a paper from a newsboy and gallop towards camp. Knute Nelson happened to be passing close by and hastily *paying the boy for the paper,* he started off on a gallop, overtook the Co. E man and demanded the paper as his property. Nelson was hardly more than a boy at the time and I expected he would get into trouble as the other was a very rough fellow, but Nelson's fearless manner so cowed him that he gave up the paper and submitted to a lecture that ought to have made him a wiser and better man." Nelson found time even in the strenuous days of war to read books. In a letter written at Baton Rouge on Christmas Day, 1863, Nelson — then a corporal — wrote, "During the forenoon I was occupied in reading Macaulay's great essay on Warren Hastings — a wonderful intellectual treat, that seemed almost like a

romance, glittering in thought and language, and to me a revelation, for I had never read anything by Macaulay before."

After finishing his course at Albion he entered the law office of the distinguished lawyer and politician, Colonel William F. Vilas, at Madison, Wisconsin. He studied industriously for two years and then was admitted to the bar in Dane County, Wisconsin. At once he became interested in politics. In the fall of 1867 he was elected assemblyman in the Wisconsin legislature for the second district. He was reëlected in 1868. He moved to Cambridge in Dane County and practiced law there a short time.

At this time there was much excitement over the migration westward. The Civil War was over. So was the Sioux War, and the removal of the Indian menace made living safe in western Minnesota. Railroads were pushing westward and enlarged population was sweeping to the frontier. In July, 1871, Nelson moved to Alexandria in Douglas County, Minnesota, where he took a homestead on which he lived until the day he died and where his daughter and only survivor, Miss Ida G. Nelson, now lives. He was at once recognized as a good, honest, sound lawyer and his practice became as substantial as could be hoped for in such a community. He at once became interested in politics and in October of the first year he was elected county attorney on the Republican ticket. In 1874 he was advanced to the position of state senator. In 1876 he said "I do not wish to be a candidate for the Senate, but if the people elect me, I will serve." He was nominated and elected without any opposition. When his second term expired he withdrew temporarily from public life, although he did serve as a presidential elector in 1880.

But in 1882 he entered the greatest political contest of his career and perhaps the most spectacular political contest in the history of Minnesota. The Fifth Congressional District at that time embraced twenty-nine counties in the northern half of the state. The people there were mostly farmers and lum-

berjacks. There were many candidates aspiring for the congressional honor, but the contest was finally narrowed down to Charles F. Kindred of Brainerd and Knute Nelson. Kindred was a very rich man. He had been in the land department of the Northern Pacific Railway Company. He thought that his money would win, and it has generally been conservatively estimated that to further his cause he spent one hundred thousand dollars, which in those days must have been an enormous sum. The Republican convention for the district was held at Detroit on July 12, but in every county there were sharp struggles over the selection of delegates to attend this convention. The farming communities generally supported Nelson, but the counties lying between Duluth and Brainerd were favorable to Kindred. The Otter Tail County convention is illustrative of how these conventions were conducted. The delegates there out-voted Kindred in favor of Nelson 85 to 15. Nevertheless, the Kindred people arranged a separate meeting and elected delegates to Detroit. Nelson and Kindred were both present at Fergus Falls when the Otter Tail convention was in session. Nelson there made a speech characteristic of him in his early career. Among other things he said, "The great principle is not what man is to go to congress, but whether the office is to be put up at auction and knocked off to the highest bidder. . . . The question is whether none but a millionaire can go to congress, or whether you will allow yourselves to be knocked down with a bag of gold." And he closed his speech by saying, "If I am nominated and elected, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, I will endeavor to 'do the right as God gives me to see the right.'"

To the district convention at Detroit, Kindred brought two brass bands and a squad of police. He had also personally rented the convention hall, and all the rooms in the leading hotel were reserved except one which an old soldier had set aside for Nelson. The Nelson supporters, anticipating trouble, erected a tent directly across the road from the convention hall.

The convention split. One faction nominated Nelson, the other Kindred. A spirited and exciting campaign followed. Nelson was triumphant and the doors were opened to a long life of service for Knute Nelson, member of Congress. During the three sessions that he served in Congress he had little opportunity for service, for the organization of the House was Democratic while he was Republican. The one thing which attracted attention to him during his service was that he voted for the Mills bill, the Democratic tariff bill. Referring to the tariff, on March 29, 1888, he argued for "cheaper food, cheaper fuel, cheaper clothing, and cheaper shelter — cheaper because released from the heavy and unnecessary bondage of high-tariff taxes." He said, "I will put free sugar, free coal, free salt, and free lumber against free whiskey and free tobacco, under all circumstances, and so will the great mass of the American people." This address illustrates the directness and force which always characterized Nelson as a debater.

When Nelson ran for reëlection in 1884 and he went to Brainerd, among those who welcomed and supported him was Kindred. As far back as 1884 Nelson advocated grain inspection. He said, "Cannot some system of elevator and transportation rates be inaugurated that will move hand in hand with and be just and fair to our agricultural and producing classes?" He won his second and third elections by very large majorities. At the end of his third term, he voluntarily retired and went back to his farm at Alexandria. There was much speculation as to his reason for retiring. Although he had been much criticized by Republicans for supporting the Mills bill, it was apparent that the people of Minnesota recognized that agriculture is interested in a low protective tariff only. In 1882 he was appointed on the board of regents of the University of Minnesota and he served there until 1893.

Nelson was decidedly a party man who believed in party government, although in later years he probably was not so intense a Republican as he was earlier in life. In 1890 his

name was placed before the Farmers' Alliance convention as a possibility for governor on the ticket of that party. He himself was a farmer who had a good background, he came from the country, the farmers believed he understood their problems. The movement for his nomination was quieted when he sent the following telegram, "I am a Republican and not a mendicant for office." The Republican party had carried on during the Civil War and he was faithful to the party which successfully destroyed slavery and sustained the Union. In 1892, however, the Republican convention unanimously nominated Knute Nelson for governor. He won at the election with a vote of 109,220 to 94,600 for Daniel W. Lawler, the Democratic nominee, and 39,862 for Ignatius Donnelly, the Farmers' Alliance candidate. In his message to the legislature he stated that he was satisfied with the weighing, grading, and inspection of grain as operated under the law, but not with the regulation of elevators and warehouses. He directed attention to the condition of state institutions, especially to the state university. As indicating his interest in agriculture and the university, of which he had been a regent, he stated, "Perhaps nothing pertaining to the progress and growth of the University has been more marked and original than the establishment of a school of practical agriculture, giving special instruction in all that pertains to the theory and practice of agriculture, in all its branches." He advocated a gross earnings tax on certain classes of corporations. He urged that the burdens of government should be made not heavier, but lighter, upon the farmers, and he especially advocated the most rigid economy.

In 1894 he was reëlected by a plurality of more than sixty thousand. In this campaign Governor Nelson delivered the most telling address in all his political campaigns. At Argyle, Minnesota, on July 28, 1894, when the free silver question was an issue between the Republican and Democratic parties, he

stated that he favored "honest, genuine bimetallism." The conservatism of Nelson is shown in the following statement, "The moment a silver dollar is not convertible into a gold dollar, silver, now as in the early days of our nation, will entirely usurp the place of gold and drive the latter out of circulation and into hiding." "A free coinage," he said, "which would at one fell blow strike down bimetallism and reduce us to a state of silver monometallism, is not desired by anybody except the most extreme inflationists and the owners of silver mines and silver bullion." This conservatism is also shown in the following statement which he made in the same address. "Farmers of the Red River valley, if you look at the situation in its true light, is it not plain to you that relief cannot come from the referendum, from saloons kept by the state, from government ownership of railroads, from female suffrage or from the unconditional free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1."

In his message to the legislature in 1895, he chiefly reviewed the achievements of his first administration. He said, referring to the Country Warehouse Law passed in 1893, "The honest warehouseman finds nothing oppressive in the law, the honest farmer finds in it a reasonable safeguard and protection, and the demagogue is deprived of his favorite text of complaint." He referred to the effective manner in which his administration had furnished relief to the sufferers in the dreadful fire at Hinckley. He proposed a plan for draining the Red River Valley. He spoke of the capitol commission which he had appointed in connection with the plan for building a new capitol. Again showing his interest in education, he said, "Our university stands at the head of our educational system and occupies a leading and commanding position as an institution of high order, both at home and abroad. The most fastidious have no longer occasion to send their children to the east or abroad. All that is worth knowing and learning can be obtained at home and in our own midst. Our university has made

Minnesota known throughout the civilized world. It deserves kind and liberal consideration at your hands. You should deal with it in a broad and liberal spirit. The people expect nothing less." In one paragraph of the message he said, "Excessive and needless legislation — legislation to meet a lot of petty ills that are more easily cured within the realm of moral suasion, is one of the tendencies of our times, in respect to which we ought to practice a little self-restraint."

When Governor Nelson was a candidate for reëlection, United States Senator William D. Washburn and his adherents feared very much that in the coming session of the legislature Nelson would be a candidate to succeed Washburn. The Washburn forces were using every conceivable device to get Governor Nelson to promise that he would not be a candidate for the Senate. Finally, it was reported that Nelson stated in his speech at Albert Lea, "It has been reported that I am a candidate for United States senator, but this is not so. I am not a candidate and do not expect to be. I am a candidate for governor and want to be elected governor, and if elected, expect to serve out my term as governor. But elect your Republican legislative ticket, so as to send my friend Washburn back to the United States Senate, or if you do not like him, send some other good Republican." That Governor Nelson made these remarks was always denied by his supporters who were present at that meeting. Laurits S. Swenson was at that time the president of a preparatory college at Albert Lea. He has served as United States minister to Denmark twice, Switzerland once, and is now United States minister to Norway. He stated to me that Nelson spoke about as follows: "I am a candidate for governor, and I am not a candidate for the Senate. The legislature must determine who the Senator shall be." I have never been able to see why anyone should endeavor to tarnish Senator Nelson's memory by reason of this incident. To commence with, anyone in public life knows that it is a cheap political trick to try to commit a man on political questions that would thwart his natural and possibly deserved

advancement. Furthermore a man could not very well be so foolish as to be a candidate for two different offices under such circumstances. When the legislature met it was clear that the people of the state favored Nelson's election. He was elected, and he resigned as governor. The best proof of his sincerity was that the legislature by overwhelming vote elected him to the Senate and that he remained there by reëlection by succeeding legislatures as well as by election by the people. He remained there under the presidencies of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, and Harding, serving more than twenty-eight years.

It is utterly impossible for me to go at length into his service in the United States Senate. In fact, the full extent of his service will never be known. Senator Nelson would gladly take the chairmanship of a subcommittee, do the work in preparing a bill and in holding hearings, and then give someone else the opportunity of having his name attached to the law. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that service to Nelson meant more than fame, but he was also shrewd enough to know that men who have their names attached to important acts in Congress are frequently retired from public life by reason of such distinction. He was chairman of the judiciary committee of the Senate when the Volstead Law was passed. No man devoted himself more industriously to the passage of that law than Nelson, yet he told me once that he would not have his name attached to the statute. It is true that the bankruptcy law bears his name and is frequently called the "Nelson cure." He was a member of the public lands committee during the time when the public domain interested the people of Minnesota greatly. He was a member of the committee on agriculture. When he died he had for some years been chairman of the judiciary committee and he had been a member thereof for many years. He was at one time chairman of the committee on commerce.

The Spanish-American War interested Senator Nelson greatly. He said in an address, "To ignore Gomez and the

Cuban Republic seems to me to be cold, icy heartlessness, unworthy a great nation and a great people." In 1898 he spoke in Minnesota and said, "It was upon the broad grounds of humanity and for the relief of the oppressed, and not upon mercenary or commercial grounds, that we intervened; and our intervention must be as broad and as generous as the grounds upon which we intervened. . . . We owe the people we saved a good government in some form. . . . Neither the cry of 'jingoism' nor the cry of 'imperialism' will chill the ardor or dull the conscience of the American people." His faith in our government as regards imperialism he put forth in an address on January 20, 1899 — a splendid legal argument "On the Right to Acquire and Govern Additional Territory." In that address, he said, "We come as ministering angels, not as despots." That he was not blind to the commercial advantages of the new holdings, however, he made clear in an address delivered at Alexandria on September 1, 1900. "With peace and good government, Manila and the Philippine islands will become the great commercial center of the far East, and afford us a great field for American enterprise and trade, such as we never had before, and such as no other nation can boast of. From this vantage ground we can dominate the commerce, and by our near presence be instrumental in maintaining the peace of the East, at less outlay and less exertion than any other nation." In 1902, on February 20, Nelson said, "I do not think we want to assume a guardianship as protectors in the distant Orient, 8,000 miles from our shores, in the midst of the densest beehive of humanity on the face of the habitable globe. But if we are to keep an army and navy there, if we are to have fortifications there, if we are to maintain a naval station there, if we are to protect anybody in that country, let it be under our flag, under our dominion, where we can exercise, not the care of a policeman, but the care of a good father." Fourteen years later, on January 14, 1916, his faith is unchanged. He said in the Senate: "Mr. President, let us never scuttle the ship. The

American flag was hoisted over the bay of Manila, on Corregidor Island, at its entrance. Let no American be foolish enough or base enough for political reasons or any other to tear down that flag."

His attitude on the tariff remained the same in the Senate as it had been in the House. He expressed it thus, "The tariff protection where needed ought never to exceed the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad." He voted against the Payne-Aldrich bill and fought vigorously against it. First he sought reductions in the wool, cotton, lumber, and other schedules; but when he did not succeed in getting them revised, he voted against the measure. He did not, however, vote for the Underwood-Simmons measure of 1913 which was Democratic. He said, in regard to it, "There are a great many matters in it of which I highly approve. I had hoped I could see my way clear to support it. But taking the bill in its entirety there is . . . gross discrimination against the farmers of the West and the Northwest and all along our northern boundary." When the Fordney-McCumber bill was before the Senate in 1922 he again made his vigorous fight against certain schedules, but particularly against the wool schedule. In his plea for moderate rates he stated in the Senate, "This is all 'love's labor lost.' We are in the hands of the wool Philistines. They have us by the throat, and perhaps it would be wiser for us to take the medicine in silence and turn our heads toward Providence and hope to get relief from that source." He was at this time 81 years old. This language shows the vigor of his mind and body. That he was ready at any time to oppose his own party leaders where he did not consider their judgment correct shows the independence of his thought. He voted for the measure finally because he regarded it a little more highly than he did the Underwood-Simmons Law.

Senator Nelson was liberal in his attitude on immigration. While he was a member of the committee on immigration he favored reductions in the number of annual immigrants, but within very reasonable bounds. As he was an immigrant him-

self, he looked upon our country's history as the history of immigration. In taking to task those who condemned certain races, he once said, "The blood that flowed in the veins of Virgil and Dante, Raphael and Michael Angelo, Columbus and Napoleon, Cavour, Garibaldi, Victor Emmanuel and Crispi surely will not contaminate our English of many strains." Speaking of the Minnesota immigrants, he said, "They came there, most of them, poor and empty-handed, with no capital but stout hearts and willing hands, but possessed of an intense desire and purpose to become good American citizens. She received them with open arms, as though they were to the manor born, and on a parity with her own people. And today, after the lapse of half a century, she can truly say that they have not betrayed the trust she reposed in them."

Senator Nelson had as great a fund of knowledge in regard to our public lands as any man in this country. While he was a member of the committee on lands he took a trip to Alaska with a congressional committee, and he trudged over that territory in the interest of the people of Alaska as did no other member of the delegation. From that time on he was looked upon by many in Alaska as their senator. His position of authority on Alaskan matters was in fact recognized by two presidents. From President Taft he obtained the appointment of a United States marshal. President Harding recognized his recommendation for a United States marshal and one district judge. In 1909 he wrote an article entitled "Summary of Our Most Important Land Laws."[2] It is an extremely compact discourse and explanation of our federal land laws. His attitude on the public domain we get near the conclusion of the article where he points out that "in view of the rapid increase of our population and in view of the rapidly diminishing area of our public domain, no agricultural land should be disposed of except under the homestead law without the 'commutation' privilege; that none of our remaining

[2] The article is published in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 33:611–619 (May, 1909).

forest lands should be disposed of, but only the large and mature timber, and that our arid lands should be disposed of for agricultural purposes to actual settlers under the reclamation law."

Senator Nelson believed in regulation by the government but not in the ownership of railroads by the government. He was active in establishing the Interstate Commerce Commission and he advocated that the commission should have the power to fix rates. He was particularly anxious that the Sherman Antitrust Law should apply to railroads. In 1908 great effort was made by Senators Foracker, Dick, and Root to amend the Sherman Antitrust Law, which declared all restraint of trade unlawful. Nelson prepared a very learned brief in which he opposed such an amendment. When later on the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the famous Standard Oil Company case of 1911, Justice Harlan, in his dissenting opinion, quoted extensively from this brief to the judiciary committee. Senator Nelson was violently opposed to the Adamson Law. He said in a speech that the Adamson Law would permit labor organizations to sandbag the government, that "you are sowing the wind and you will reap the whirlwind." He was the only man in Congress from Minnesota who voted against this law when a great many people were clamoring for its passage.

In 1911, President Taft recommended reciprocity with Canada. In opposing the measure, Senator Nelson said, "The whole burden is cast upon the farmers for the benefit of the manufacturers and the railroads, who are the chief beneficiaries of the scheme."

With regard to the World War, Senator Nelson felt that President Wilson should have warned Germany not to enter Belgium just as Colonel Roosevelt so vigorously advocated. He believed thoroughly in the cause of the Allies and that Germany was responsible for the war. He was outspoken in his attitude long before the United States entered the war and before the sinking of the "Lusitania." He was the only

member of Congress from Minnesota who voted against the well-known McLemore Resolution, a resolution which would warn Americans not to travel upon any armed merchant ship for fear of losing their lives and of provoking war. When the declaration of war came his age and position alone kept him from getting into the strife. On August 24, 1918, he said, "As soon as the great war broke out in Europe it was evident to me that it would ultimately be our war as much as the war of those countries in Europe. It was evident to me that if Germany should succeed in vanquishing France and England and obtain complete control of the Continent in Europe there would be no place in the sun for America; that we would be the next victims of German aggression. So from the very beginning my heart has been in favor of this war."

Senator Nelson hated war. He had himself known what war was. He stated his position strongly and courageously in regard to the League of Nations, and on this issue he was very much out of harmony with his own party. He said, "Remove the terrors of war — the poor and lowly suffer most therefrom — and mankind will breathe easier and will soon be born to a new life and to a new spirit. Would it not be sad to think that our country should stand aloof from such purpose and such mission?" "I can not sympathize with that sentiment which would have our country crawl into a closed shell with no other label than the Monroe Doctrine." He voted for the reservations to the League of Nations, but I firmly believe that if these had not been adopted by the Senate he would have voted for the League of Nations as provided for in the Treaty of Versailles, had this come to a vote. He concluded his remarks in an address in October, 1919, as follows: "I have not made these remarks under the idea that I am a statesman. . . . It has rather been the spirit of old Corporal Nelson of the Fourth Wisconsin." Later on, in November, he said, "The campaign that has been waged against the league of nations reminds me very much of the campaign that was waged against the adoption of the Constitution of the United States."

"Let us keep our heads on and let us pass just such legislation as we would if we had today a Republican President." He also opposed the Knox Resolution in a strong speech which he delivered in April, 1921. He was consistent from beginning to end, and nothing in his life shows greater sincerity than his attitude on the League of Nations. Shortly before he died he said in the Senate that it was "the greatest of mistakes, economically and in every other way, for America not to enter the League of Nations, with one or two amendments of the covenant." Then he proceeded to warn against the intrusion of peanut politics in international relations.

While governor, Nelson had favored high license which resulted in the restriction of the number of saloons. In the Senate he took his characteristic vigorous attitude in speaking on the Volstead Law. "We have exterminated the beer saloons and the whiskey saloons, and, so help me God, they will stay exterminated; and no friend of the bootleggers, no cunning move to undermine the prohibition law will prevail. The American people, the American women, at all events, understand what is involved in this question."

Legislation affecting agriculture always challenged Senator Nelson's attention. His attitude in regard to the farming class is probably best expressed in an address which he delivered in the Senate in 1917, when the question of fixing the price of wheat was before that body. He said, "The laboring men may get cheaper flour; they may get other products more cheaply; but the main sufferers will be the farmers of our land; and the farmers, above all others, are entitled to our protection, for they are the mainstay of the country. They are the ones who furnish us with the staff of life, with bread and meat and cotton. If we allow them to suffer and to be left in distress, we destroy that class on whom we must mainly rely."

In a discussion in the Senate judiciary committee when Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, appeared before the committee asking that labor organizations be exempt from the provisions of the Sherman

Antitrust Act, Mr. Gompers used some very strong language. Senator Nelson was not pleased with the remarks and was very firm in his conviction that it was just as necessary to prohibit labor as capital from combining to fix prices. With characteristic frankness he stated his position to Mr. Gompers and added that he doubted whether any man could live as long as he had and remain more staunch in his sympathy for the laboring man and the lowly. Mr. Gompers generously withdrew his remarks and said, "That is true," and the conversation was stricken from the record.

Senator Nelson's strongest characteristic was his simplicity. In order to understand his life you have but to proceed to his farm and his home in Alexandria and view it as it there stands, a home in the future to be utilized as an old folks' home, a simple farm home. Even more clearly you would find this quality if you should enter his residence at 649 East Capitol Street, Washington, D. C., where he lived for many years. It was not on the northwest side of the city where the other senators lived. No, not a colleague lived in his neighborhood. His home was a modest three-story building, old and simple in appearance. I doubt that the furniture in this residence could be sold for four hundred dollars. When I listed his jewelry in his inventory I listed one watch. It was presented to him just after he was inaugurated governor in 1893. He had a little old silver watch which his friends considered too shabby for a governor and they therefore presented him with a gold one on which was engraved, "From Your Norwegian and Swedish Friends." He was frugal as he was simple. He left a very modest fortune, a fortune at all because he was saving, small because he gave away liberally, but small principally because he cared nothing for wealth.

Senator Nelson had a delightful personality. Men were attracted to him and he kept his friends because he was faithful to them. He wished to serve everyone and he knew that it was a part of a Christian to serve another even where that person was wrong. He was a devoted son. Each year in going to and

from Washington he would stop at Deerfield and visit for a couple of days with his mother, who lived to the ripe old age of ninety-six. His home life was pure and blameless. Many years ago sadness came to his family when three children passed away in a diphtheria epidemic. His son, who was at one time a member of the legislature of Minnesota, died from tuberculosis at the age of thirty-seven. He is survived by one daughter.

From the mountain side in Norway he came to Castle Garden, where he pledged his troth to his weeping mother in her loneliness and trouble, saying "Do not weep, mother; when I grow up, I shall be next to the king"; then he was a newsboy; then a frontiersman (how much like the rail-splitter, the great Emancipator); then a soldier, brave, wounded, sick, and in prison; then a legislator in the state and nation; chief executive of his state; and United States Senator; once he declined a position in the president's cabinet — he was near enough to the king. Truly he could have said, when God removed him, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." Knute Nelson is the greatest inspiration of our day to the lowly American immigrant; may his memory be as lasting as the noble purposes for which he lived.

Jacob A. O. Preus

State Capitol
St. Paul, Minnesota

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

TWO KNUTE NELSON LETTERS

In 1911 the late Senator Nelson wrote two letters of unusual interest for the biographical information which they contain. The first of these, obviously written to a former Confederate soldier, gives a general sketch of his career, and the second relates an interesting incident at the beginning of his military service. These letters are here printed from copies presented to the Minnesota Historical Society by Governor Preus, who used them in the preparation of his illuminating address published in this number of the BULLETIN. They form a valuable addition to the society's growing collection of Nelson Papers. The enclosure mentioned in the second letter has not been found.

KNUTE NELSON TO D. B. ARNOLD, August 4, 1911

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 4, 1911.

HON. D. B. ARNOLD,
Batesville, Mississippi.

DEAR FRIEND AND FELLOW SOLDIER:

You can scarcely realize how glad I was to receive your very kind and interesting letter of July 28th. It carried me back to the days of Port Hudson, and to the experiences you and I had in those days, and to your kindness and good will to me.

I should have gotten on the track of you long before if I had only known your given name, but I had forgotten that and so I was groping about as best I could to find you, but without success until I received the letter from your brother's wife.

My heart goes out to the old Confederate soldiers, not only because of the trials they had during the war, but even greater trials they had subsequently, and the difficulties they had to contend with.

On my return home from the army I went back to the academy I was attending at the time I enlisted and finished my course there,

and then I entered a law office at Madison, Wisconsin, and read law with Senator Vilas, who was a member of Cleveland's cabinet as Postmaster General and Secretary of the Interior.

I was born in Norway in 1843, and came to the United States with my mother in 1849. We resided about fifteen months in Chicago, and from there moved up into Southern Wisconsin, which was my home until '71, and in which state I enlisted and served in the Fourth Wisconsin Regiment, Company B. The regiment was an infantry regiment for two years and then it was converted into a cavalry regiment, and inasmuch as there were just three cavalry regiments in the State we retained the same number and became the Fourth Cavalry, as we had been the Fourth Infantry. At the time of the charge of Port Hudson we were mounted infantry, and cooperated with the cavalry, although we had not gotten our cavalry equipment.

At the time of the charge on the 14th of June, being one of the oldest regiments in the service, what there was left of us was selected to lead the charge on that day. We left our horses in a ravine about a mile or so back of your breastworks and led one of the charging columns in skirmish order. I got within about eight or ten rods of your breastworks when I was wounded, and I lay there until dusk, when the pickets your people mounted outside came and picked me up and carried [me] inside where I became your associate, as you remember in that hospital tent.

But going back to my experience since the war: I was admitted to the bar in 1867 at Madison, Wisconsin, and commenced to practice law on my own hook. I was doing fairly well, but my health had been poor ever since the war and continued so, and I was advised by my doctor to go to Minnesota. I had an old Wisconsin friend who was register of the Land Office at Alexandria, Minnesota, then on the outer verge of settlement in that State, and on his advice I moved to that place, which has since been my home.

I had a wife and two children when I reached Alexandria, and about three or four hundred dollars worth of law books and about one hundred dollars in cash. I took a homestead of 120 acres adjoining the town and have been living on that homestead ever since, and have added to it until now I have about 500 acres in the farm. I devoted most of my time to the practice of

law, but, of course, in a new country it was rather scant and limited at first, although I managed to get on one side or the other of about every case of importance in the six or seven counties in my part of the country. For about twelve years I was in active practice, and did pretty well; then I got into politics and from the Congressional Directory which I sent you will see what my political record has been since.

I was married in 1867. We have had six children and they are all dead, except one, my oldest daughter, who is an old maid and is still with us. I had only one son who was a good bright boy. He served one term in the Legislature and voted for my second election; was in the hardware business on his own account in a small town several years in Minnesota; finally five years ago he moved to the Pacific Coast. He was in good health when he moved out there, but was taken sick with consumption, grew weaker and weaker, and we finally sent him to Colorado Springs in hope he might recover, but he lingered about a year in a sanatorium and finally died three years ago. He was then some 32 or 33 years old. Since his death I have felt rather lonesome and the world has not seemed as bright to me as it did before and I have not had the ambition to dig and work as formerly.

Of course, you can realize, poor as I was, and with no friends at court, and foreign born, that I have had quite a hard road to travel, but have worked hard and the American people have been very kind and good to me, more than I deserve. I am now about your age, that is, I was 68 years the second of February, last. I am in fairly good condition, but I have gotten quite gray in hair and beard. My mother remained at our old home in Wisconsin, and died last November at the age of 96 years. My father died when I was three years old and I came with my mother to this country in 1849, and when we landed at the port we were $45 in debt, so you see I had not much to start with.

I am giving you these details because of the friendship I have for you and because of the feeling of comradeship. I wish you would remember me to old "Pud." I enclose $5 which I wish you would kindly hand to him. I will send you a map of Minnesota, from which you can see what part of the State I live [in].

I should be more than glad to have you visit me at my home in Alexandria. I live on a farm and live like a farmer, and I could give you such accommodations as you might expect from a farmer.

With my very best wishes to you and yours, I remain

Yours most sincerely,

[KNUTE NELSON]

KNUTE NELSON TO F. C. AINSWORTH, December 12, 1911

December 12, 1911.

MAJOR GENERAL F. C. AINSWORTH,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR GENERAL:

As a preliminary and key to the enclosed letter, I beg leave to make the following statement:

In May, 1861, and for sometime prior thereto there was a state militia company organized and existing at Ft. Atkinson, Jefferson County, Wisconsin, called the Black Hawk Rifles, under command of the officers referred to in the letter herewith.

In May, 1861, I was attending as a student Albion Academy at Albion, Dane County, Wisconsin, about fifteen or sixteen miles from Ft. Atkinson. In the latter part of May of that year, Captain Lohmiller came over to the Academy with a band and regiment, a few of his most respectable men in uniform, where some nineteen young men, myself included, nearly all under 20 years of age, were and induced us to enlist in his company.

We immediately started for Ft. Atkinson to join his company, and were duly enlisted in it. We remained there about a month and then the company was sent to Camp Butler Racine to form a part of the Fourth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, then being gathered at that point. We Albion boys found, after joining the company, that we had gotten into a hard crowd; the captain was an easy-going beer-drinking German, who kept little track of his company or his men; the first and second lieutenants were bummers and toughs of the first water; Hummel was a German, Rohr an Irishman. When they were not drunk they were continually swearing and God-damning the men. A large share of his men were of the same character, and we boys saw that we

had gotten into the worst kind of a gang. What to do about it we didn't know.

Finally when the United States mustering officer came to Racine to muster the regiment into the Federal service, and commenced to muster in the Black Hawk Rifles, we Albion boys stepped out of the ranks and refused to [be] mustered in with that company. The colonel of the regiment, the mustering officer and the other officers interested talked rather bullying and threatened to put us in the guard house, etc., but we simply told them we wouldn't be mustered in with that company. We were perfectly willing to go into the service, and be mustered in then and there if we would be put in some other company in the regiment. The result of it was that our refusal to be mustered into the Black Hawk Rifles broke up that company and it was not mustered in. We nineteen boys were scattered around in other companies, some eleven or twelve of us going into the Ripon Rifles, a company gotten up at Ripon, Wisconsin. It afterwards became Company B of the Fourth Wisconsin, in which company I performed my army service.

What became of the balance of the Black Hawk Rifles I never knew. My understanding has been, until I received the enclosed letter, that the company was broken up and never entered the service. The writer of this letter was one of the original Black Hawk crowd.

I wish you would look up your records and see if you can find any trace of him, and any trace of the company. He was never, to my knowledge, a member of Company B, Fourth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, afterwards Fourth Cavalry. That company consisted of what was known as the original Ripon Rifles, commanded by Captain LaGrange, Lieutenants Ross and Carter. LaGrange afterwards became Major or Lieutenant Colonel of the First Cavalry, then Ross became captain and after him, Carter. What became of the remnants of the Black Hawk Rifles, to which the writer of the enclosed letter belonged, after the Fourth Regiment was mustered in at Camp Butler, I do not know. The company certainly did not become a part of the Fourth Wisconsin.

Please give me all the information you can about the military record of Mr. Ruosch, and return his letter with your answer.

Your truly,

[KNUTE NELSON]

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Red Man in the United States: An Intimate Study of the Social, Economic and Religious Life of the American Indian. Made under the direction of G. E. E. Lindquist. (New York, George H. Doran Company, 1923. xxviii, 432 p. Illustrations, maps.)

The volume under review is substantially the report of the committee on social and religious surveys of the Survey of the North American Indian made during the years from 1919 to 1922, of which Mr. Lindquist was the director. Arising as the survey did out of the Interchurch World Movement, it is natural that special emphasis should be laid in the book upon religious conditions among the red men. Indeed much of the information about conditions on the reservations was obtained through missionaries, native pastors, and Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. workers. It is to be regretted, however, that this religious attitude of mind is carried so far in a book bearing so general a title, for questionable interpretations of ancient Indian customs are the result. This is particularly the case in the discussion of such topics as those of Indian morals and dances, which are treated under the chapter heading "Vices and Frailties."

The work is divided into two parts: the first, consisting of six chapters, being a general summary of the Indian problem throughout the United States; and the second, containing the nine remaining chapters and four of the appendixes, a discussion of the Indian groups on a geographical basis. A scant ten pages in the body of the book and some four pages in the first appendix are devoted to the 12,600 Indians of Minnesota, mainly Chippewa. Of interest to Minnesota readers too are the sections dealing with the Sioux reservations in the Dakotas, since many of the Indians of these reservations originally came from Minnesota.

Mention should be made of appendixes 5 and 6, since the first contains a statement from Mr. Edgar B. Merritt, assistant Indian commissioner, on the "Legal Status of the Indian," which is a brief summary of some of the important laws; and the second is a "Bibliography on the American Indian." The latter is woe-

fully inadequate — it occupies less than six pages — and many of the books cited are of the popular rather than the scientific type. Catlin is listed, but no mention is made of the works of Schoolcraft or other well-known writers on Indian customs.

The book is well bound, printed on good paper, profusely illustrated with photographs showing present-day Indian life, and supplied with a table of contents and an index. It is essentially a social and religious survey of conditions among the Indians at the present time, and as such it makes available in convenient form a good deal of miscellaneous information for the general reader.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK, JR.

Agricultural Organization in the United States (University of Kentucky, *Studies in Economics and Sociology,* vol. 2). By EDWARD WIEST, A. M., Ph. D., Professor of Economics, University of Kentucky. (Lexington, University of Kentucky, 1923. xxiii, 618 p.)

From the standpoint of an historian, Dr. Wiest's *Agricultural Organization in the United States* will have to be considered as a place to obtain four things: (1) a comprehensive grasp of the whole field and problem of organization for the betterment of agriculture; (2) an understanding of the relation of particular attempts at organization to the whole; (3) a certain amount of technical information that helps in understanding the development of agricultural organization; and (4) a very brief introduction to the history of particular types of organization. Having read such a volume, therefore, the historian will go about the task of working out the detailed history of particular organizations and types of organizations with a much clearer vision of the setting of his problem. And he will be saved the trouble of a certain amount of exploring of technical and economic backgrounds.

Also there will be a considerable body of readers, consisting mostly of technical workers in the field of agriculture, for whom the amount of historical detail given will just about suffice. Armed with this as a reference book, they will be able in short order to prepare many of those little historical introductions so necessary

in order to give to addresses or lectures on agricultural subjects the desired scholarly atmosphere.

Exactly how authentic the historical facts presented in this volume are, it is difficult to say. Dr. Wiest has resorted to official records whenever public agencies are involved and to organization records and published histories in other cases. But, although they may publish accurate records, the officials of such organizations frequently manifest great tenderness in interpreting them. Even public officials have a tendency toward giving their departments much credit where less is due.

Considered from the standpoint of a textbook in agricultural organization, which it really purports to be, the book has much to recommend it. Dr. Wiest has obtained a good grasp of the major problems involved and has successfully disentangled the maze of interrelations between the various federal and state agencies at work in the field. His discussion of most points indicates close familiarity with actual problems; on a number, however, the men on the firing line could suggest numerous issues which it did not occur to him to raise. The principal faults of the book are that the author departs too frequently and too long from his theme, which is organization, to discuss matters of economics, education, technical agriculture, and the like, with the result that the reading is tiresome; that organization itself is inadequately analyzed; and that the whole treatment is over appreciative and not sufficiently critical.

JOHN D. BLACK

The Life of Caleb Cushing. By CLAUDE M. FUESS. In two volumes. (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1923. xi, 454, vii, 442 p. Illustrations.)

It is seldom that an American statesman of the first rank is overlooked by biographers. Caleb Cushing, however, died in 1879 and it was not till 1923 that the first extended biography appeared for this man, who was a representative from Massachusetts from 1834 to 1843, who as minister to China concluded the epoch-making treaty of 1844, who was a brigadier general in the war with Mexico, who served as attorney-general under Pierce, and who was minister to Spain from 1874 to 1877. This welcome biog-

raphy is based on the vast bulk of papers which Cushing left at his death and from which Mr. Fuess quotes extensively. One quotation from a letter written by Cushing from the Falls of St. Anthony in 1846 is of special interest to Minnesotans. For several weeks he lived like an Indian in the wildernesses about the Great Lakes and especially on some timber lands along the St. Croix River which he was investigating. He eventually bought a considerable tract of territory and invested funds in a milling company at the Falls of St. Anthony as well as in one at the falls of the St. Croix. Mr. Fuess states, "There is reason to believe from his correspondence that he was fascinated by the glowing future which this section of our country presented, and that he seriously contemplated making his permanent home there."

The evidence seems to show that Cushing had in mind a plan to create a new territory in the St. Croix Valley and around the head of Lake Superior similiar to that proposed by James Fisher in his memorial to Congress in 1845. Of this territory Cushing, it seems, expected St. Croix Falls to be the capital, and himself, the governor. The interference of the war with Mexico, in which he took an active part, put a stop to all these plans.

It is a curious coincidence that, just at the time these volumes appear, the Minnesota Historical Society should receive as a loan for copying the diaries of the Reverend Edmund F. Ely, who accompanied Cushing on his exploring trip along the St. Croix River in 1846. Quite an extensive account of the journey is there recorded. It is hoped that copies of all Cushing's writings regarding this trip and the business enterprises started as a result of it may also be secured by the society.

GRACE LEE NUTE

The Journal of John Work, a Chief-trader of the Hudson's Bay Co., during His Expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest. Edited by WILLIAM S. LEWIS and PAUL C. PHILLIPS. (Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923. 209 p. Illustrations.)

Interesting and valuable as the diary of John Work for 1831–32 doubtless is for the history of such states as Oregon, Idaho, and Montana, there would be small reason for including in this quar-

terly an announcement of its publication were it not for the introductory chapter, on "The Fur Trade in the Northwest," written by Mr. Phillips. Though the sketch is short and, of necessity, superficial and though several errors of fact can be detected by the historian who has delved deep into the fur-trade lore of the Far Northwest, it is nevertheless a very useful summary of the history of the fur trade from the mouth of the Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia. The bibliography at the end of the volume is a good working list of books and manuscripts on the fur trade in the United States and Canada. If for no other reason, this publication would be of value because it calls attention to the great bulk of American Fur Company Papers in the possession of the New York Historical Society. Mr. Phillips was the first person to make a survey of these papers, without a knowledge of which no one today could presume to write a history of the fur trade in the United States. The book is also worthy of note as another example of the contributions to historical research which the Arthur H. Clark Company is making in its publication of manuscript sources.

G. L. N.

Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana. Volume 9. ([Helena], Montana Historical Library, 1923. 372 p. Illustrations.)

Volumes of *Contributions* have been issued by the Montana Historical Library at irregular intervals over a considerable period of years, and like similar publications of some other societies they contain miscellaneous papers, addresses, reports, and some source material. The present volume as explained in the preface was issued in the spring of 1923 under the handicap of the death of the secretary of the society during the preparation of the material for the printer.

The bulk of the work is devoted to the publication of the remainder of the manuscripts of Lieutenant James H. Bradley, some of whose papers have appeared in preceding volumes of the same series. With the exception of the one long article on the "History of the Sioux" the sketches are brief notes on frontier topics, either from original or from secondary sources. Bradley, an

Indian fighter who was killed in 1877 during the campaign against the Nez Perce Indians, was evidently a close observer of frontier conditions and Indian customs, but one could wish that he had confined his writings to the history of tribes other than the Minnesota Sioux, or that the editor in printing the "History of the Sioux" could have corrected by footnotes some of the serious errors of the Bradley narrative.

Much of the material relating to the Sioux of the Minnesota region following the War of 1812 is borrowed from Edward D. Neill's *History of Minnesota,* some of it practically verbatim, with only incidental references to that fact. A dramatic story of a surprise attack by the Sioux upon a large party of Chippewa, men, women, and children, within full view of the walls of Fort Snelling on May 27, 1827, without interference from the garrison, is given; but no authority for the account is furnished. So far as is known, no such encounter took place under the conditions described, although the treacherous assault upon Flat Mouth's band of Chippewa, which Bradley states occurred in the fall of the same year, did take place near Fort Snelling on the evening of May 28. In punishment for this attack Colonel Snelling and Major Taliaferro, the Indian agent, compelled the Sioux to surrender the guilty members of their tribe to the Chippewa for execution. Other instances of confusion or misstatement could be cited.

One must likewise ask why a "History of the Sioux" does not include some reference to the great Sioux Outbreak of 1862 and to the Sibley and Sully campaigns of 1863 and 1864 instead of turning abruptly from a discussion of the missionary activities of the Ponds, of Riggs, and of Williamson, to a consideration of General Ashley's fur-trading operations on the Missouri.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK, JR.

Literature of Pioneer Life in Iowa: An Address Delivered Before the Academy of Science and Letters at Sioux City in March 1923, With a Partially Annotated Bibliography. By FRANK LUTHER MOTT. (Iowa City, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1923. 89 p.)

The most valuable portion of this little volume is the classified bibliography (p. 35–89) of books and pamphlets about Iowa life

before 1860. Under the heading of "Belles Lettres" between forty and fifty items are listed. Sections follow on biography; county, township, and town histories; guidebooks and other early books descriptive of Iowa; history; periodicals; reminiscence and autobiography; and bibliography. The compiler indicates in what libraries the items which he lists have been located, and thus adds greatly to the practical value of his bibliography.

In the address itself six topics are considered: "Mythologizing the Iowa Pioneer," "The Iowa Pioneer in Literature," "The Historians and Biographers and the Pioneer Period," "Reminiscences of the Iowa Pioneers," "Guide-books and Handbooks," and finally "The Iowa Pioneer in the Literature of the Future."

"The pioneer and all his train," writes the author, "are now arrived safely in the realm of Romance. His prairie schooner drawn by oxen, his log-cabin, his claim, his prairie of a thousand variable charms, his founding of government and schools and churches, his bees, his hunting — all these, because they are long past and we are proud of the courage and hardihood of our fathers and grandfathers and a little proud of ourselves for having descended from them — all these are transmuted to the very stuff of fable, the very texture of myth." It is of course true, as the author points out, that many pioneer conditions seemed at the time disagreeable and sordid, but they now "have about them an aura of traditive glamour, because the pioneer himself wears the halo of romance." Naturally much attention is devoted by the author to two men who within the past few years "have done distinct literary service to the Iowa pioneer," — Hamlin Garland and Herbert Quick.

The author emphatically believes in the importance of catching the romance of history. In his survey of the work of the State Historical Society of Iowa he writes, "And it is only when the historian has a feeling for romance, when he is interested chiefly in people and only incidentally in statistics, and when he has some care for beauty of form, that he achieves effectiveness and thereby creates literature." Despite the intrinsic interest of the pioneer period, the author laments, it is possible to turn out "dry and uninteresting historical writing" about it. "The method," he explains, "is to keep the eyes on documents, papers, dates, and

statistics, and never, by any relaxation of the attention, allow them to wander to people." But after all, is it not in documents and papers that our revered ancestors recorded themselves? Is there any other method open to the historian, by which he may see the people of the past, than by studying the records?

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

Mississippi Valley Beginnings: An Outline of the Early History of the Earlier West. By HENRY E. CHAMBERS. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922. xxiv, 389 p. Illustrations.)

The title of this volume is so intriguing that the reader turns over its pages with eager anticipation. He finds a rhetorical sketch of the "early history of the earlier West," with emphasis upon the lower Mississippi Valley. The book opens with chapters on the "valley as wilderness." Thereafter come sections on the French possession of the region, the westward advance of the English, the "furl of the fleur-de-lys flag," the Spanish period, the American purchase, and finally the development of the region as American territory.

The text and the bibliography indicate that the author has not drawn upon the important sources and monographic studies made public in recent years by Professor Alvord, Dr. James, and certain other specialists — material usually considered fundamental for an understanding of the "early history of the earlier West"; and the author's treatment of his subject reveals the impressionist's impatience with detail, an impatience which probably accounts for numerous errors of fact. On the other hand, it must be admitted that Mr. Chambers wields a facile pen and has mastered a literary style. This mastery is clearly shown in the chapter headings, which are as vivid as the captions in one of the better moving pictures. Witness the following examples: "The Spreading Wave Speeds On," "War's Test of the West," "Travel Ways of Early Days," "Steam's Solving of the Up-stream Problem," and "First Sowings of the Dragon's Teeth." Occasionally there is a nice use of alliteration: "The Lure of Low-priced Lands."

There is a rhetorical power — nay, even a fire — about the descriptions in the text, which affords even more convincing proof

of the author's literary facility. Consider the following picture of the "typical pioneer of the earlier West!"

> One cannot go very far wrong in estimating him as an upstanding, self-confident, loyal-to-his-own, able-to-take-care-of-himself personality, in whose veins coursed the red-blood synonymous with impose-not-on-me manhood and in whose abdominal cavity reposed a complete outfit of those organs which in circles of lesser politeness are coupled with take-no-dare courage (p. 265).

This passage may possibly convey the impression that the pioneer was an altogether-too-rough-and-ready creature. The author hastens to make it plain, however, that the "pioneer stock which grew such fruitage as the Lincolns, Jacksons and Clays of the West was fundamentally a sound one upon which to bud refinements and graft accomplishments in keeping with the requirements of a more advanced society."

The book contains no index entry for the name of Minnesota, but on page 46 the author mentions the expedition of Father Hennepin. "The little party," he writes, "reached Minnesota, discovered the falls of St. Anthony, where they were captured and held prisoners by hostile Sioux Indians." If Mr. Chambers has in his possession manuscripts or other records which prove that Hennepin's party was captured and imprisoned at the Falls of St. Anthony, he should publish them at once.

The author lists only one Minnesota book in his bibliography, namely, "McVey, Franklin L.: *The Government of Minn.* 1901." The reviewer ventures the opinion that the book here referred to is Frank L. McVey's *The Government of Minnesota; Its History and Administration.* The author or perchance the typesetter apparently likes to alter the names of certain well-known writers, but it seems to the reviewer that he goes rather far when (on p. 377) he changes the name of Albert Bernhardt Faust, the author of a comprehensive work on the German element in the United States, to William Bernard Faust. A change in the middle initial, from Stephen H. Long to Stephen W. Long (p. 378), is of course less reprehensible.

T. C. B.

The Norsemen in the New World. By LOUIS H. RODDIS, Lt. Comdr. M. C., U. S. Navy. (Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, 1923. 70 p. Illustrations, map.)

The author of this small volume on the early Norse voyages to America explains the motive of his work as follows:

> One of the dreams of my boyhood was of leading an expedition to the shores of Hudson Bay in search of the rune stones said to have been left there by the Norsemen and inscribed with the accounts of their Arctic and American voyages, made long before the time of Cabot and Columbus. The finding of the Kensington Rune Stone in Minnesota and of other runic writings on the west coast of Greenland, far north of the Arctic Circle, indicate the wide extent of these inscriptions and the possibilities of undiscovered records on the coasts of Hudson Bay and Labrador. Reports of such "written rocks" have been brought to the Hudson Bay posts from time to time by Indian trappers of the Great Company. In later years the plans for such an expedition were made, personnel, equipment, and route selected, not only for the more romantic object of finding the stone hewn records of Viking voyages, but for the more practical purpose of investigating the mineral, agricultural and forest resources of the Hudson Bay Region.
>
> Then came the war and all those plans had to be abandoned. However, this short monograph on the early Norse voyages to America might be considered as an introduction to such a project.

The author first reviews in a few pages the evidence for and against the authenticity of the inscription on the Kensington rune stone, which he believes to be a true record. In the second chapter, which is entitled "Iceland and Greenland," he discusses briefly the general background of the early Norse voyages to America. Most of chapter 3 is devoted to a reprint of the translation by A. M. Reeves of the saga of Eric the Red in the "Flateyarbok." In the next chapter the author reaches the conclusion that the region of Leif's explorations and Thorfinn's unsuccessful attempt at colonization was somewhere on the coast of Labrador or Newfoundland. In the last chapter he writes about the lost colonies and the possibilities of voyages to America after Leif's discovery. If the volume as a whole makes no distinctive contribution to knowledge of its subject, it has the merit of presenting a popular short summary based upon careful study of a wide range of sources.

T. C. B.

Year-book of the Swedish Historical Society of America. Volume 8. (St. Paul, 1923. 175 p.)

The first article in this volume is a well-written reminiscent account of "Early Days on the Minnesota Prairies," by Dr. Frank Peterson, in which the writer presents a vivid picture of blizzards in southern Minnesota during the early seventies and tells of the grasshopper plague and of other episodes that illuminate his topic. A study of "The Beginning of Swedish-American Education (Prior to 1860)" by Dr. Conrad Peterson deals chiefly with the period of the Delaware settlement, but devotes a few pages to early conditions in the Middle West.

Nearly a hundred pages of the *Year-book* are devoted to a collection of "Hemlandet Letters," compiled by George M. Stephenson. These letters, which are printed both in Swedish and in a literal English translation, were written in the period from 1855 to 1869 and deal chiefly with conditions in America as observed by Swedish immigrants. The letters, as the title indicates, were published in *Hemlandet,* the first Swedish newspaper in the United States, at Galesburg, Illinois. The reviewer questions the wisdom of making the printed source the basis of unity in such a compilation. Dr. Stephenson has previously proved that *Hemlandet* is a source of first importance. In the reviewer's opinion, he might, therefore, have narrowed the selection and achieved a more definite subject unity. As it is, the reader gets a little information about Texas, an item about the Mormons, a very valuable description of conditions in the Montana mining country in 1865, a note about Pike's Peak, and scattered materials on the Swedish settlements in Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, and other states.

Fifteen Minnesota letters are included, ten of which date from the years 1855 to 1859. In some of these letters graphic descriptions are given of pioneer conditions, and it is interesting to note how urgently some of the writers preach the gospel of Minnesota. "One thing I want to say to you, whoever you are," writes a Swedish settler near St. Peter, on June 19, 1858, "If you left your native land to become a farmer, go to Minnesota! Don't delay, but pack up and be on your way. The longer you delay, the worse for you." The letters testify to the piety of the

early Swedish immigrants. "Although we have no minister, we assemble every Sunday to meditate upon the Word of God by reading sermons from books of sermons and other religious writings," writes J. P. Miller of Watertown on December 14, 1858. In another letter the following occurs, "After I had finished writing friends came to me and requested me to suggest that you send us a preacher to expound the word of God to us, for we are like shepherdless sheep in the desert."

The *Year-book* for 1923 is a valuable and interesting publication and reflects distinct credit upon the organization which issued it.

T. C. B.

The Northwestern Miller Anniversary Number, 1873–1923. (Minneapolis, The Miller Publishing Company, December, 1923. 147 p.)

The most significant feature of the elaborate celebration in November which marked the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the *Northwestern Miller* was the publication of a notable anniversary issue of that important milling journal. This number is an exquisite example of the art of the printer. The illustrations, which of themselves give distinction to the volume, include a view of the Falls of St. Anthony about 1820, from a painting by J. Shaw; a full-page reproduction of an etching by Pierre Nuyttens; and reproductions in colors of several interesting paintings. The stories and poems printed in the number testify to the high editorial ideals which have raised the magazine above the level of most American trade journals.

From the historical point of view the most valuable feature of the magazine is the "Story of the Northwestern Miller," by William C. Edgar, its present editor. This article presents a very acceptable review of the beginnings, the early development, and later expansion of the periodical; but its value is more general than its title suggests, for it contains a mass of illuminating detail on the growth of the milling industry itself. Mr. Edgar has made a not uninmportant contribution to the history of Minnesota, since the industry pictured in his pages is intimately related to the economic development of the state as a whole.

"A Short History of Flour Milling," which Dr. Henry Adams Bellows contributes to the same magazine, is an informing and well-written account in which the milling development in Minneapolis and the Northwest is placed in its world setting. Mr. H. E. Barnard writes on a related theme, "The Development of Baking." "Fifty Years of British Flour Importing" is the title of a survey by Mr. J. C. Pillman of London in which the English activities of the magazine are chronicled. Mention may be made, in connection with this review, of an article published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 14 under the title "Minneapolis' First Flour Mill Built 100 Years Ago" in which is told the story of the mill built in 1823 under the direction of Colonel Snelling. This article also reviews the general development of the milling industry of Minneapolis.

T. C. B.

Brainerd's Half Century. By INGOLF DILLAN. ([Brainerd, 1923.] 144 p. Illustrations.)

"Altho I am neither historian nor author, the thought of writing a history of the city of my birth gripped my imagination," says Mr. Dillan in the "Foreword" to this history of a Minnesota city. The result of his efforts is an interesting example of what might readily be done for dozens of Minnesota communities, many of which have a far richer past in legend and history than has the metropolis of Crow Wing County. There is nothing particularly remarkable in the history of Brainerd — no events or personalities stir the imagination with their romantic or picturesque qualities. Nevertheless, Mr. Dillan has produced a very readable little volume about Brainerd — a community which after all is typical of the prosaic middle-western small town.

For the "history of Brainerd proper which dates from 1870," the author sketches a rather hazy background of Minnesota and Northwest history. He then proceeds to the origin of the railroad-made town which superseded the old trading post and settlement at Crow Wing. Evidence of the mushroom growth of the new town is the statement, gleaned from a contemporary newspaper, that within less than three years Brainerd had "21 stores, 18 hotels, and 15 saloons."

The narrative which follows the account of the origin of Brainerd is an extremely disjointed one. Sections are devoted to the Northern Pacific Railroad, to the Indians, to social life, to city government, to the lumber industry, to agriculture, to iron mining, to local churches, and to pioneer and modern business concerns. Mention should be made also of a list of old settlers with the date of the arrival of each in Brainerd, and of the list of local World War veterans which concludes the volume. From this array the discerning reader may select three factors which have been the primary influences in the city's progress — the railroad, the lumber industry, and the iron mines.

Brainerd grew up on the spot where the surveyors decided that the Northern Pacific Railroad should cross the Mississippi River. Naturally the fortunes of the railroad company were reflected in miniature in the ups and downs of this frontier town. Mr. Dillan gives a detailed account of the effect in Brainerd of the Jay Cooke failure of 1873 and of the boom which occurred in the early eighties after Henry Villard had gained control of the road. At this time the population of Brainerd is said to have reached sixteen thousand, but the number decreased greatly when the main car shops of the railroad were removed to St. Paul in 1883, and Brainerd settled down to the normal life and development of a remote railroad town. Today its population is less than ten thousand.

Second only in importance to the railroad during Brainerd's pioneer period were logging and lumbering. But "by 1905 the available supply of logs had dwindled to such an extent" that the Brainerd Lumber Company was obliged to remove its mills to Canada. Fortune, however, continued to smile on the city. Almost simultaneous with the passing of the lumberjack was the arrival upon the scene of the mining prospector. The account of the development of the iron resources of the Cuyuna Range is contributed by Mr. Carl Zapffe.

In the preparation of his narrative the author made use of such original material as newspaper files, interviews with old settlers, the minutes of the city council, and the federal census schedules; but he does not seem to have located any private collections of letters or manuscripts relating to the community. The many illustrations include some photographs of distinct historical

value. Unfortunately, despite the excellent quality of some of the sources, the treatment is journalistic; and the book is distinctly of the souvenir or college annual type. This may be due to the fact that it was inspired by the fiftieth anniversary celebration and home-coming at Brainerd in 1922, to an account of which one section is devoted.

B. L. H.

Letters of an Ambulance Driver. By J. Harold Curtis. ([St. James, Minnesota, 1922.] 257 p. Illustrations.)

The continued publication of material relating to the World War indicates that the statement recently made by a public leader that "we want to forget the war" may have been wrong. But perhaps the sales records of such publications might prove the statement not far from the truth. Probably a little room is still available on the four hundred miles of shelving needed to contain material on the late world conflict, and the *Letters of an Ambulance Driver* undoubtedly deserves a place in the collection.

The book apparently was intended for distribution among friends. To the reviewer the episodic character of the letters suggests as an appropriate general title, "Flashes of Action." There is a succession of swift dips into particular scenes, thoughts, and actions, followed by equally abrupt endings. The letters, which are interesting and well written, cover a field which, because of the small number of men engaged in ambulance work and the few published records of their service, is not widely known. The men represented by the writer of these letters played an important part in the drama of war and it is fitting that they should receive a just recognition.

The ambulance drivers constituted a select group — a fact which is revealed in these letters. Many were college men and were associated with other men of the same type, an advantage in maintaining *esprit de corps* as well as in keeping up the spirits of the individual. In the descriptions of camp life contained in the volume under review illustrations of this may be found. The routine of training, for example, was broken by constant visits to homes in town, even short evening visits being possible. To these men the best homes were always open.

Furthermore, the men often escaped from the monotony of "army chow." "I have been invited out so much and have had candy and cookies sent in Christmas boxes, so I have only eaten a few meals at the mess hall," wrote Mr. Curtis. Later, in France, with a gasoline driven *aide de camp* to carry his pack and extra blankets, he could carry reserve rations and always sleep under cover if he wished to use his car. The men in the ambulance corps had the experiences of the soldiers under fire and of those back of the danger zone perhaps many times in one day. They would be keyed up to the highest pitch while driving through the dark without lights over shell-torn roads, but they could rest, when rest was available, back of the worst fire. They covered much of the country on their four-wheeled chargers and saw almost every aspect of war. They established contacts with almost every rank and branch of the service.

All in all, the ambulance driver is well fitted to give us a vivid picture of war. Some of these opportunities are used by the author of these letters, and many of his word pictures are wonderful; on the other hand, he missed many of the opportunities which he had. Perhaps this is because of the horror of the scenes and lack of time, but probably the main reason is the deadening of the senses under the terrible strain of experiences while in action.

The letters cover a period of ten months of training at Camp Crane, Allentown, Pennsylvania, and fourteen months as an ambulance driver in France. They were written by a Minnesota boy, a student at Hamline University who left college when the war came, and they constitute "an account of the war as seen by a private and related to his home folks," without thought of publication. One good example of the vivid descriptions in the letters is the following account, which was written on July 29, 1918:

> After dark last night a call came to go to the advance post. A helper and I started. The road stood out, a light streak before us. There were a number of shell holes varying in depth from one to several feet that we must avoid. Soon after we started a battery of French guns opened up on the enemy. The big guns were close beside the road we were going over. The flare from the guns so close a distance was worse than the sharp lightning, and the report which followed had the loudest thunder I ever heard beaten a mile. We were fairly blinded by the flash, and by the time we could see

the road again the next gun would boom. We hurried to get a greater distance from the guns, and the shells went high over our heads. We reached our post all right and it was midnight when we set out with three "couches" or laying patients and one "assis" or sitting patient, whom I took in the seat with me. We dodged the shell holes and the Boche shells and made our way back all right, passing many convois of ammunition going up to the front. My second driver was dropped at our station and I went on alone with my load to the hospital. Just as I was outside the zone of fire, I had a blow-out, and there in the mud and dark and after midnight I had to change tires. It was some job. The blessies in the car were moaning and groaning and the tire went on hard. Just after I was started again engine trouble developed. I could not stop for that so went on to the hospital with my crippled car and the load. It was 3 A. M. when I got back. I sought a dug out and in a minute was sound asleep. I slept till ten o'clock, when our dinner came up. It consisted of bread, jam, cold meat and pinard. After dinner I was again ordered to the advance post and as I write the Boches are shelling this place hot and heavy. The shells whistle overhead and frequently one bursts very close and those in the entrance to the dugout come back inside.

The volume is badly printed and many typographical errors mar the text. But despite these defects the book merits commendation, for the letters are interesting and informing.

CECIL W. SHIRK

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

A full account of the annual meeting, which was held on January 14, will be published in the next number of the BULLETIN. The annual address, which is published in this issue, was delivered by Governor J. A. O. Preus before an interested audience of about two hundred persons in the House Chamber of the State Capitol.

The statewide committee on membership, the appointment of which was authorized by the executive council in October (see *ante,* p. 302), has now been named by the president, with the assistant superintendent as its chairman, and the indications are that it will be a very effective instrument for increasing membership and promoting the interests of the society generally throughout the state. For example, two members of this committee, the Honorable Charles W. Gillam of Cottonwood County and Mr. J. Anton Ochs of Brown County, early in January — shortly after the committee was appointed — brought in seventeen and twelve new members respectively.

A novel sort of gift, appropriate for Christmas and for birthdays, was recently suggested to members by the superintendent of the society. He called special attention to the privilege of receiving the society's current publications and proposed that memberships be presented to friends interested in Minnesota history.

The total number of members on the rolls of the society on January 1, 1924, was 1,223, of whom 12 are honorary, 61 corresponding, 1,150 active, and 5 institutional. The number of new members enrolled during the year 1923 is 220, of whom 218 are active and 2 institutional. Forty members were dropped from the rolls and 27 died during the year, making a total loss of 67. It will be seen, therefore, that there has been a net increase of 153. The additions to the active membership during the three months ending December 31 numbered 55. A list of the names of these new members, grouped by counties, follows:

BELTRAMI: Jessie M. Pendergast of Bemidji.

BROWN: Adolph Meile of New Ulm and Robert Rothenburg of Springfield.

HENNEPIN: Mrs. Roy G. Blakey, Anne H. Blegen, Harald K. Brevick, Mrs. William F. Brooks, George D. Dayton, John M. Gaus, Dr. Horace Newhart, Stanley Partridge, John B. Schmoker, Ernest A. Swan, and Olga W. M. Wold, all of Minneapolis.

HOUSTON: Lloyd L. Duxbury of Caledonia.

ITASCA: Henry A. Mace of Marble.

LAC QUI PARLE: Jacob F. Jacobson and August C. Ruud of Madison.

MCLEOD: Mrs. John Zrust of Glencoe.

MARTIN: Arza R. Fancher and Edward R. Flygare of Fairmont.

NOBLES: Marjorie F. Ferguson of Rushmore.

OLMSTED: Mrs. A. E. Larkin of Rochester.

PENNINGTON: Lars Backe of Thief River Falls.

POLK: Ray B. MacLean and Edgar E. Sharp of Moorhead.

RAMSEY: Andrew Boss, Dr. Frank E. Burch, Joseph F. Cowern, Lewis E. Dunn, Charles O. Kalman, Henry L. Osborn, John P. Pritchett, Lytton J. Shields, Mrs. Omer C. Snyder, and Dorothy F. Ware, all of St. Paul.

RICE: Fred L. Bardwell of Northfield.

ST. LOUIS: Donald B. McDonald, A. Miller McDougall, Bentley P. Neff, Clement K. Quinn, and Dr. Dana C. Rood, all of Duluth.

SCOTT: Daniel W. Byrne and William F. Duffy of Shakopee.

STEARNS: Dr. Lena Beach of Sauk Center and Sister Grace McDonald of St. Joseph.

SWIFT: Almer O. Strand of Benson.

WASECA: Milton P. Fuller of Waseca.

WILKIN: Schuyler C. Bowman of Rothsay.

NONRESIDENT: Mrs. Joseph B. Banning of Los Angeles, California; Philip M. Brett of New York City; Charles W. Carpenter of Ontario, California; W. E. Ingersoll of Winnipeg, Manitoba; Captain Otto F. Lange of West Point, New York; and Warren J. Willis of Washington, D. C.

The society lost four active members by death during the last quarter: Edmund J. Phelps of Minneapolis, October 12; the Honorable Josiah D. Ensign of Duluth, November 24; William

B. Patton of Duluth, November 29; and the Reverend William C. Gannett of Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania, December 15.

The number of subscriptions to the society's publications from schools and public libraries has been increased to 124 by the addition of ten institutions during the last quarter. These include the public libraries of Mankato, Mapleton, Moorhead, Morris, Paynesville, Virginia, and Worthington; the libraries of the public schools of Lester Prairie and Wheaton; and the James Jerome Hill Reference Library of St. Paul.

The monthly series of talks on Minnesota history subjects given by representatives of the society at the Twin City radio station WLAG has been continued during the quarter. On October 18 the curator of the museum spoke on "Boosting Minnesota in Pioneer Times." On November 28 the activities of "Pioneer Missionaries Among the Sioux and Chippewa" were described by the curator of manuscripts, and on December 17 the superintendent spoke on "State History and Geographic Names." The talks are now being given under the auspices of the *Northwest Farmstead* of Minneapolis.

The second volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota* is all in type except the index, and the work on this is being pushed forward as rapidly as possible. If no unforeseen delays occur, the book will be ready for distribution within a few weeks.

The publication of volumes of collections embracing the fundamental source materials for Minnesota history cannot be undertaken under present conditions until after Dr. Folwell's history is completed. Some consideration is being given, however, to plans for such volumes, and the work of the manuscript division is being directed in part toward the assembling of materials for those which will probably be undertaken first. Attention is being given especially to the period from 1760 to 1815, which may be called the British period of Minnesota history. See *ante*, p. 305.

Commenting editorially on "The Historical Society at 74," the *Minneapolis Journal* in its issue of October 23 says, "It is a conservator of local fact, tradition and color, indispensable to an

understanding of the past and the promise of the State and Nation. To it historians must repair, if they would faithfully trace the growth of the Northwest from a pioneer wilderness into a group of flourishing commonwealths."

A new edition of the syllabus of Minnesota history for high school teachers which was prepared by the assistant superintendent last March (see *ante,* p. 144) has been mimeographed by a committee of the history teachers' section of the Minnesota Education Association. Copies may be obtained from Miss Margaret West, East High School, Minneapolis.

Four members of the staff attended the meeting of the American Historical Association and allied organizations in Columbus, Ohio, from December 27 to 29: Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, assistant superintendent; Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts, Miss Gertrude Krausnick, librarian, and Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., curator of the museum.

During the months of October, November, and December, forty-five classes from Minneapolis and St. Paul schools visited the museum. To a considerable number of them the curator delivered illustrated talks on such topics as Franklin, colonial life, and Lincoln.

A special exhibit of books and pamphlets was arranged in the museum for the occasion of the annual meeting of the Swedish Historical Society of America in the society's auditorium on December 5.

On October 25 the curator of the museum journeyed to Winnebago and Cambria for a three-day investigation of Indian burial pits reported to have been uncovered in that vicinity. Mr. Frank O. Swain of Lake Crystal and several other interested local students of archeology accompanied the curator. The pits were of considerable archeological interest but yielded no finds of special importance. A visit was paid to a farmer in the community who possesses a private collection of several hundred Indian relics. The curator reports that of the Cambria mound group only two small mounds remain, but that flint flakes and arrow points are abundant on the site. While in Winnebago the

curator gave two talks to groups of classes in the public schools of that city.

A "Pioneer Fireside" exhibit which has been arranged in the museum is attracting considerable attention. The curator has plans for the installation of a completely equipped one-room pioneer log cabin, and many of the furnishings are already on hand; but the expense involved makes it unlikely that the project can be carried out in the near future unless some generous citizen makes a special contribution for the purpose.

During the months of October, November, and December, 8,436 books were used by 1,290 readers in the main reading room of the society's library, as compared with 7,735 books and 1,358 readers during the corresponding quarter of the preceding year. During the year 1923 appoximately 40,000 books were served to 6,500 readers, which may be compared with 31,000 books and 6,000 readers in 1922.

Dr. Upham has spent several months during the year on the inventory of the map collection, which was begun a few years ago, and as a result this valuable collection is available for use for the first time in years. Much work remains to be done, however, in developing this inventory into a catalogue, and adequate classification and filing must await the installation of special equipment.

Several members of the staff have been called upon recently for speeches on Minnesota history or closely related topics. The assistant superintendent spoke at the South St. Paul High School on November 6 in connection with the observance of "Book Week." On December 17 he delivered a public lecture in a course sponsored by the Faculty Club at Hamline University, taking as his subject the various Old World influences which have acted upon Minnesota development. A portion of the lecture is printed as a feature story in the *St. Paul Daily News* for December 23. The curator of manuscripts spoke in November on the use of manuscripts in historical research to classes of students from the University of Minnesota and Hamline University. The curator of the museum read a paper on October 1 before the Tourist Club of Minneapolis on "Claims to Indian Lands in North America." On October 9

he addressed the Woman's Welfare League of St. Paul on "The Indian of Today," and on November 11 he spoke to the Men's Club of the Prospect Park Methodist Episcopal Church of Minneapolis on "Some Aspects of the Minnesota Indian Problem, Past and Present."

The division of archives and history of the University of the State of New York has issued as *Bulletin* number 2 in its *War of the Rebellion Series* a volume by Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., curator of the society's museum, entitled *Selections from the Letters and Diaries of Brevet-brigadier General Willoughby Babcock of the Seventy-fifth New York Volunteers: A Study of Camp Life in the Union Armies during the Civil War* (1922. 110 p.). The work, which is based upon the war letters and diaries of Mr. Babcock's grandfather, is more than a compilation of selections. It is in fact an illuminating study of army life in all its aspects — as the subtitle indicates — illustrated throughout with copious quotations from unpublished family papers. There are chapters on camps and fortifications, commissary, camp life, transportation, organization, recreation and mail, the "contraband" question, and feeling concerning the war. Colonel Babcock was a close observer, an intelligent critic, and a lucid writer, and his letters to his wife are filled with a wealth of interesting detail. The resultant picture of army life which Mr. Babcock's synthesis affords is of great value not only for the history of the New York regiment to which the officer was attached, but also for an understanding of typical conditions in the northern armies during the Civil War. The manuscript of the work was originally prepared by the author as a master's thesis at the University of Minnesota.

Accessions

Valuable additions have been made recently to the society's materials on missionary activities among the Minnesota Indians. Copies of the letters of the Reverend Sherman Hall which were located last summer in Concord, New Hampshire (see *ante*, p. 304), have now been secured. These letters throw light on the everyday work of this Congregational missionary to the Minnesota Indians, on conditions among the natives, on the activities of

other missionaries, and on many other allied topics. The diaries and papers of the Reverend Edmund F. Ely, who came as a missionary to the Lake Superior region in 1832, have been borrowed for copying from the St. Louis County Historical Society, which has the papers on deposit. This material covers in general the period from 1833 to 1854 and consists mainly of letters to Ely which are replete with information about such topics as the fur trade, Indian customs, and missionary work. Another interesting accession in the same general field is a series of diaries kept by the Reverend James Peet in the years 1856 to 1865, which have been loaned to the society for copying by Mr. Edward L. Peet of Minneapolis, a son of the missionary. The Peet diaries contain a wealth of interesting material on the life of this missionary in northeastern Minnesota, on the settlement of Duluth and its environs, and on Methodism in Minnesota. The series is not complete, since the diaries for 1861, 1862, and 1864 are missing.

Three installments of calendar cards of American Fur Company Papers have been received from Miss Myrtle A. Cline, agent in New York of several mid-western historical agencies for the purpose of calendaring this collection (see *ante,* p. 307). In the main these cards represent communications from many relatively unimportant and little-known characters, but on the list are such men as John Lawe, Solomon Juneau, John McTavish, John C. Frémont, Michael Dousman, and Duncan Finlayson. Forty letters written by Henry H. Sibley to the central office of the American Fur Company, photostatic copies of which have been obtained from the New York Historical Society, cover the years 1834 to 1844 and are an important addition to the society's collection of Sibley Papers. From the same source has come a photostatic copy of a contemporary sketch and description by Charles W. Borup of the Fond du Lac post of the American Fur Company in 1836.

Seven account books of Norman W. Kittson, the well-known Minnesota pioneer, have been received from his son, Mr. Norman Kittson of St. Paul. Several outfit books, mainly for the Pembina region, where Kittson's activities as a fur-trader were centered, are included. There is also some material on the transportation activities of Kittson.

The papers of General Charles Powell Adams, which have been received by bequest, are a valuable addition to the society's materials on the Civil War period of Minnesota history. They throw light on Adams' career, on frontier relations in western Minnesota and in Dakota after the Sioux Outbreak, and on the part played by the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the battle of Gettysburg. Dr. Folwell, through whose instrumentality the bequest was made, has used the papers in the preparation of the second volume of his *History of Minnesota.*

An addition to the McMaster Papers (see *ante,* 3: 224) has been made by Mrs. Fred A. Bill of St. Paul, through the gift of a legal paper dated September 30, 1848, releasing Joseph McMaster from his apprenticeship to a printing firm in Belfast, Ireland, in order that he might emigrate to the United States with his family.

A photostatic copy of a town plat of Winona made in 1851 has been presented by Mr. Orrin F. Smith of Winona.

In closing an old family home in Massachusetts, Mr. Luther S. Cushing of St. Paul gathered up many interesting old manuscripts which he has presented to the society. The collection includes several specimens of the Massachusetts colonial seal as well as a letter from a young man in Amsterdam, Holland, dated 1662, "For to be Delivered unto his very Loving Unkel Mr Exsperians Michell dwelling in Duxberie toowne in New England."

Several letters and printed items of interest for the history of the Red River Settlement, the Riel rebellions, and Canadian-American relations have been copied for the society from a scrapbook loaned by Mr. John Persse of Winnipeg.

The papers of an early lawyer of St. Paul, David A. Secombe, have been presented by his daughter, Mrs. Edward C. Chatfield of Minneapolis.

The minute book of the annual meetings of the Fireman's Life Association of the State of Minnesota for the years from 1877 to 1883 and the minutes of the meetings of the Hope Hose Company Number 3 of St. Paul for the period 1875–76 have been presented by Dr. C. D. Freeman of St. Paul.

A typed copy of a resolution presented to Governor J. A. O. Preus on January 22, 1923, recommending the erection of a statue in memory of the assistance rendered by Madelia and Northfield citizens in the capture of the James and Younger band of outlaws in 1876 has been presented by Mr. David E. Hasey of Minneapolis. Accompanying the resolution are several press clippings relating to the same subject.

Copies of papers read by Mr. W. G. Swart, Mr. Peter Schaefer, Mr. W. E. Hannaford, and Mrs. Mary Lyon Burns at the convention of the St. Louis County Historical Society last summer (see *ante,* p. 321) have been presented by that society through the courtesy of Mr. William E. Culkin, its president.

Occasionally term theses prepared by students in Minnesota colleges are presented to the society. Papers on "The Practical Working of County Boards as Illustrated by the County Boards of Hennepin County, Minnesota," by Bryce E. Lehman, a student at the University of Minnesota, and on "Minnesota Railroads and the Immigrant," by Merle Gripman, a former Hamline University student, have recently been received.

A letter written by Ole Spillum at North Cape, Wisconsin, on August 1, 1869, in which the causes of Norwegian immigration are discussed, is the gift of Mr. Ingemann Ranum of St. Paul. A translation of the document has been made for the society by Mr. Jacob Hodnefield. Mr. Ranum has also presented a *budstikke* or "message stick" used in Norway in the early part of the nineteenth century.

A hand-forged iron anchor weighing over one hundred pounds, unearthed in a swamp near Remer last summer, is the gift of Mr. Jerry A. Coats of Remer through the courtesy of Mr. Dan Wallace of St. Paul. This interesting old relic is probably from a fur-trade bateau portaged through the region at an early date.

Bronzed plaster of Paris busts of four prominent Hennepin County judges, Charles E. Vanderburgh, Austin H. Young, William Lochren, and Frederick Hooker, have recently been presented by Mrs. Jacob Fjelde of New York, through the

courtesy of her son, Mr. Paul Fjelde. The busts were modeled in 1895 by the distinguished Minnesota sculptor, Jacob Fjelde.

Several interesting additions have been made recently to the society's collection of Indian relics. A parfleche or skin trunk, a number of large beaded ceremonial bags, a medicine man's headdress, breechcloths, leggings and a vest of beaded black velvet, a number of pipes, a chief's bow and arrows in a buckskin case and quiver, and a tom-tom are included in a large collection, chiefly Chippewa in origin, which has been deposited by Mrs. Frank C. Berry of Minneapolis. A small pottery bowl and a bone awl have been presented by Mrs. Jennie Vosburgh of Winnebago. A large grooved stone hammer is the gift of Mr. August Beyer through the courtesy of Mr. E. H. Slater of St. Paul. A collection of Indian baskets from Alaska and California and a papoose carrier from northern Minnesota have been given by Mrs. Arthur E. Peck of Minneapolis.

Models of various types of Philippine houses and of a native canoe with outriggers, a tiny Japanese sampan and jinrikisha of tortoise shell, native embroidery, Philippine sandals, and Japanese clogs are features of an extensive oriental collection assembled by the late Captain Frank T. Corriston of Minneapolis while an officer in the Thirteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry during the Spanish-American War and recently placed on deposit by Mrs. Corriston and her daughter, Miss Lucile Corriston. Included in the collection is a group of photographs of the Minnesota regiment in action.

About 170 pamphlets, many of them relating to subjects in the history of the Middle West, have been added to the library from a large collection turned over to the society by Professor Clarence W. Alvord on the eve of his departure for England to engage in research work (see *ante*, p. 313). The remainder of the pamphlets in the collection, being either duplicates of items already in the society's library or not within its field, have been turned over to the library of the University of Minnesota.

An important addition to the library was recently made by the purchase of a lot of approximately forty books and pamphlets,

chiefly in German, on the United States and German immigration. Many of these works contain material on Minnesota. For example, in *Ein Streifzug durch den Nordwesten Amerikas; Festfahrt zur Northern Pacific-Bahn im Herbste 1883,* by N. Mohr (Berlin, 1884. 394 p.), one interesting chapter is devoted to Minnesota and is printed under the title "Am Lake Minnetonka." The volume as a whole is made up of letters written to the *Weser Zeitung,* of which the author was the editor. A chapter in Paul Lindau, *Altes und Neues aus der Neuen Welt; Eine Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten und Mexico* (Berlin, 1893. 326, 406 p.) tells about Minneapolis and St. Paul in the early nineties.

NEWS AND COMMENT

What principle of selection should be applied to the building up of historical manuscript collections by state historical societies? It will be readily admitted that the primary object of such institutions should be the permanent preservation of records which throw light upon the development of the respective commonwealths. It is a mistake to suppose that papers are unimportant simply because they do not relate to prominent officials and statesmen, to picturesque explorers and voyageurs, to soldiers and adventurers. The story of any mid-western state, for example, is also the story of farmers, mechanics, and workmen; of business men; of doctors, engineers, and other professional men; of missionaries, ministers, and teachers; of immigrants and pioneers whose work was toilsome and undramatic; of men and women generally who played effective if humble parts in making the state what it is today. In attempting to assemble a great collection of letters and papers which reflect the unfolding life of the people, a state historical society must seek to make the records as representative as possible. It must gather documents without reference to race or creed, for many races and many denominations have figured in the historical development of the commonwealth. The records of both conservatives and liberals must be cared for with rigid impartiality, for both groups have been factors in the past of the state. In the first volume of his *History of Minnesota,* Dr. Folwell quotes a line from Cervantes, "for historians ought to be precise, faithful, and unprejudiced, and neither interest nor fear, hatred nor affection, should make them swerve from the way of truth, whose mother is history." A noble ideal, indeed! But how could the historian realize this ideal if those whose business it is to preserve the records upon which history is based were swayed by partisan influences in performing their task of collecting sources? The source that seems unimportant to one critic may prove of utmost value to another. The great mass of records constantly accumulating makes necessary the adoption of some principle of limitation, but sad indeed would be the historical outlook if partisan standards for the acceptance or rejec-

tion of sources were set up by those who act as trustees for the state in preserving its record.

Several of the papers and addresses presented at the meeting of the American Historical Association and allied organizations in Columbus, Ohio, from December 27 to 29 related to the history of the West. Among the subjects discussed were the following: "The Life and Work of Francis Parkman," by Joseph Schafer; "The Westward Expansion of the Vermont People," by Lewis D. Stillwell; and "Some American Influences Upon the Canadian Federation Movement," by Reginald G. Trotter. At the Conference of Historical Societies a survey of the activities of historical societies in the United States during the period from 1920 to 1923 was presented by Dixon R. Fox of Columbia University, and a critique of "Historical Society Magazines as Viewed by an Outsider" was made by William B. Shaw, assistant editor of the *American Review of Reviews*.

"Are the Records of America Worth Saving? Destruction of History-filled Documents Invited by Lack of Archives Building" is the title of an illuminating article by Carson C. Hathaway in the *Dearborn Independent* for December 1. The writer states that "one current problem which America faces is the impending destruction of her historic records." He believes that eventually a national archives building will be erected but, he writes, "the only question is, will it take a disastrous conflagration to stir Congress into action?"

A detailed report on "American Historical Activities during the World War," edited by Dr. Newton D. Mereness, appears in volume 1 of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1919 (Washington, 1923. 486 p.). A special section of this article, prepared by William Stearns Davis and Franklin F. Holbrook, reviews the Minnesota historical activities during the war. There is a succinct account of the plans and work of the Minnesota War Records Commission. In the same volume is printed a report of the joint conference of historical societies and the national association of state war history organizations, held at Cleveland, Ohio, on December 29, 1919. The subject discussed was the handling of materials relating to the World War.

Ta-gosh; An Indian Idyl, by Mrs. Ida Sexton Searls (1923. 32 p.), presents a picture of "life among the Ojibway Indians, familiarly called the Chippewas, in the time of the early fur trader; before the advent of the steamboat and the railway locomotive." The main facts in the story were told to the author by Mrs. Thomas Jackson of Fond du Lac, a granddaughter of the hero and heroine of the idyl, Ta-gosh and Zoe-we-dah.

In an article entitled "Kleng Persson og Restauration," by Fr. Scheel, in *Nordmandsforbundet,* volume 16, number 8, a few new items of information are added to knowledge of Cleng Peerson, the "father of Norwegian immigration to the United States." A series of articles by Rasmus B. Anderson on the same subject appears in the Chicago newspaper *Skandinaven,* beginning with the issue of October 18, under the title "Cleng Peerson og Sluppen 'Restaurationen.'" The increasing interest in the story of Cleng Peerson is due to the approaching centennial of the first group immigration of Norwegians to the United States in the nineteenth century, that of 1825.

A pamphlet on the *Luther College Museum* has been prepared by its curator, Dr. Knut Gjerseth (1923. 23 p.). "Of the various exhibits," he writes, "the pioneer collection is not only the most valuable but in many ways the most interesting."

Luther College Through Sixty Years, 1861–1921 is the title of a valuable book issued by the faculty of Luther College, Decorah, Iowa (Minneapolis, 1922. 512 p.). All sides of the activities of the institution are comprehensively treated, and the volume is an important contribution to mid-western educational history and to the history of the Norwegian element in the United States.

Immigrants from the Norwegian district of Voss who have served as missionaries and ministers in America are discussed in an article in number 2–3 of volume 5 of *Vossingen,* the organ of Vosselaget. Special attention is given to the career of Elling Eielsen (see *ante,* 2: 371).

A movement sponsored by representative Swedish-Americans has been started for the erection of a monument in honor of the pioneer churchman and historian, Dr. Erik Norelius.

A paper on "Early Attempts at Scandinavian Church Unity in America" was read by Professor A. A. Stomberg at the annual meeting of the Swedish Historical Society of America which was held in the Historical Building, St. Paul, on December 5. "The Mission of the Swedish People in America" was discussed by the Reverend J. J. Daniels at the same meeting.

An interesting history, by J. Edward Tufft, of the Icelandic settlements of Pembina County, North Dakota, which had their origin in the late seventies, is published in the *Grand Forks Herald* for October 14. A brief general account of Icelandic immigration is included.

"Is County History Worth While?" This is the title of a suggestive article in the *Michigan History Magazine* for July-October by Arthur Lyon Cross, professor of English history in the University of Michigan. The author's answer is affirmative although he severely criticizes the prevailing type of county history. He suggests a plan for "the furtherance of scholarly and co-ordinated study in the county field" whereby in each state a general committee made up of "men of wealth and influence, members of State historical and other societies" and historical experts from the state universities and better small colleges would raise funds, select local coadjutors, and "apportion the counties or groups of counties into volumes." Thus he would assure a scientific basis for the project and bring "a considerable quantity of otherwise scattered and perishable knowledge into an enduring whole." An account of "Michigan's Most Ancient Industry: The Prehistoric Mines and Miners of Isle Royale," by William P. F. Ferguson, appears in the same magazine. The author of this article discovered in 1922 the remains of a prehistoric town on the island and he now proposes that the site be carefully excavated. A careful survey of "Historical Work in Michigan" is contributed by the editor of the magazine, Dr. George N. Fuller.

"Social Harmonies and Discords," the fifth article in the series on "The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin" by Joseph Schafer, in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, portrays the process by which the two elements were gradually

brought together as one people, although at first they were distinct and on occasions separated into rival camps. Dr. Schafer draws on the census schedules of 1850 for an illuminating analysis of the population of Milwaukee in that year. In the same magazine there is a brief article on "A Community Historical Museum," by Albert H. Sanford, who tells of the museum built up at the State Normal School in La Crosse, Wisconsin, and who believes that "the school is the logical place for a community museum."

In *The Book of Lake Geneva,* by Paul B. Jenkins (Chicago, 1922. 226 p.), the Chicago Historical Society has issued a well-written and exquisitely printed volume about Wisconsin's most famous lake. The work is a comprehensive study of Lake Geneva, its history, natural history, and present-day attractions. Will not some Minnesotan write as a *labor amoris* "The Book of Lake Minnetonka"?

An interesting study of the Scotch emigration from Lord Selkirk's Red River Settlement to Jones County, Iowa, in the late thirties is contributed by Mr. Bruce E. Mahan to the November *Palimpsest,* under the title "The Scotch Grove Trail." After a brief account of the origin and history of the Selkirk colony, the author deals in detail with the emigrations of 1835, 1838, and 1840. "Word filtered back over the Red River trail from St. Paul of opportunities to buy cheap farms in the rich valley of the Mississippi River in the 'States.'" An agent of the Scotch settlers, Alexander McLain, was sent south. "Like Joshua of old he explored the country, and carried back a glowing report of a fertile prairie land, well watered and having sufficient timber for building, located about fifty miles from Dubuque."

An Iowa prize essay contest conducted by the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs with prizes amounting to one thousand dollars offered by the State Historical Society of Iowa is intended to stimulate the study of local history by Iowa school children. The subjects announced are "The Story of My Grandmother," "The Story of My Grandfather," "An Old Settler's Story," "A Story in the History of My Community," and "What Iowa Means to Me." Would it not be well to inaugurate a somewhat similar contest in Minnesota? Perhaps the emphasis might be placed

upon the finding of historical manuscripts, diaries, and the like, with prizes to the classes turning up the most valuable material. The Minnesota Historical Society doubtless would be willing to conduct the contest if some individual with the historical interests of Minnesota close to his heart were to make available the prize money.

A *Statehood Souvenir* issued by the Red River Valley Old Settlers' Association on November 2 in "honor of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the birth of North Dakota," contains interesting information about North Dakota educational history.

On November 8, the fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of Winnipeg, the *Manitoba Free Press* issued a "Jubilee Edition," two sections of which are devoted to a number of carefully prepared articles about various phases of the city's growth and development.

A series of "Reminiscences of H. B. C. Pioneers" is appearing in the *Beaver,* the monthly publication of the Hudson's Bay Company, beginning with the October number. Alexander Lillie is the subject of the first sketch and Archibald McDonald of the second.

Three articles in the *Canadian Historical Review* for June, 1923, possess special interest for Minnesota readers. In a study of "The Early Choice of the Forty-ninth Parallel as a Boundary Line," by Charles O. Paullin, evidence is offered that as early as 1714 the Hudson's Bay Company proposed the forty-ninth parallel as the southern boundary of its domains and that in 1719 the British government instructed commissioners under the treaty of Utrecht to obtain the line asked by the company. No actual boundary settlement was made by the commissioners, however. An article on "Louis Riel and the Fenian Raid of 1871," by A. H. de Trémaudan, proves by the use of papers left by Riel that he had no connection with or responsibility for the Fenian raid. Another article of great interest in the same magazine is entitled "Some Letters of David Thompson," by Lawrence J. Burpee. Among these letters, which were written in the summer of 1840 to Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, and Gladstone, is one relating to the mysterious "Long Lake" mentioned in

the treaty of 1783. Thompson declares that the "fine estuary of the River St. Louis" answers to the description of the Long Lake, and argues against the Pigeon River route.

General Minnesota Items

Seeing the Middle West, by John T. Faris (Philadelphia, 1923. 254 p.), is an attractive travel book three chapters of which are devoted to Minnesota. Indian legends and tales of explorers are woven into the descriptive chapter entitled "Around Water Bound Minnesota," which takes the reader from Minneapolis and St. Paul up the valley of the Minnesota River, north to the Lake of the Woods, along the international boundary to Lake Superior, and then south to Duluth. A brief chapter is devoted to the three iron ranges of northern Minnesota and then the author, in a chapter entitled "Along Minnesota's Mississippi," escorts the reader southward from Itasca State Park, through lakes with strange-sounding names, past Little Falls and St. Cloud, and back to the Twin Cities. Although his numerous historical allusions are not always accurate, the author deserves credit for writing a popular and condensed general account in which figures and events famous in the history of the state are associated with their proper geographical settings.

"With LeSueur on Prairie Island and up the Blue Earth" is the caption of the first in a series of articles by Arthur T. Adams on "Backtrailing Minnesota History" in the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 11. The author describes trips to the site of Fort L'Huillier near Mankato and to the probable site of the earlier post on Prairie Island.

A well-written description of "The Source of the Mississippi," by William T. Cox, is published in *Jul i Vesterheimen* for 1923, a Christmas annual issued by the Augsburg Publishing Company of Minneapolis.

The development of coal shipments to the Twin Cities and other points in the Northwest via the Great Lakes and Duluth or Superior is described in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 11. According to this account the first coal used in the Northwest was brought by steamboat up the Mississippi River to St.

Paul in the early sixties, and the "first cargo was brought to Duluth on a sailing vessel in 1871."

Mr. Fred D. Underwood, president of the Erie Railroad, recalls some of his experiences with the Soo Line in the Northwest during pioneer days in an interview reported by Dowsley Clark in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for November 24. His "reminiscences of the fight between the Soo Line and James J. Hill . . . for a right-of-way in Dakota territory" are presented in detail. Another article in the *Tribune* for October 21, comparing pioneer and modern railroading, accompanies a picture of the "William Crooks," Minnesota's first locomotive, beside a giant oil-burner of the present. The story of the "William Crooks" is recounted in the first person singular in an *Autobiography of an Engine,* issued by the Great Northern Railway as a sixteen-page pamphlet.

In the final articles of the series on the trunk highways of Minnesota by W. H. Brill, published in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune* from October 7 to December 9, highways number 45 to 70 are described. As in the earlier articles, attention is called to places of historic interest along the various highways.

The state department of education has issued a *Curriculum for Elementary Schools,* dated January, 1923, in which provision is made for the teaching of Minnesota history in the fourth grade. An introductory study of Indian life in general is to be followed by the study of the Minnesota Indians. Thereupon the history of Minnesota is to be taken up in five parts: early explorers, territorial days, the organization of the state, stories of interest, and local pioneer stories. Teachers are advised to "study historic spots in or near locality."

Considerable interest has been shown recently in the history of the University of Minnesota. A series of reminiscent articles by Walter Stone Pardee dealing with the history of the university was begun in the October 11 issue of the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* with a study of "St. Anthony at the Time of the Renewed University." At the annual home-coming dinner on November 6 a motion picture depicting the history of the university was shown for the first time. Several relics, including the bell of the Old Main building, which are to form the nucleus of an

historical museum for the university have been collected by Mr. E. B. Pierce, secretary of the general alumni association.

The thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Minnesota School of Agriculture is the occasion for an article about its origin and development in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for October 14. According to this account the school was the first of its kind in the United States — it "stood unique and alone in its aim to give elementary instruction in farming to farmers' sons." Some idea of the extent of its influence may be gained from the statement that "80 per cent of the 2,955 School of Agriculture graduates are engaged in agricultural work or in industries closely correlated to agriculture." A description and a picture of the original school of 1888 are contrasted with pictures of the school as it appears at present. Portraits of its four principals also appear with the article.

A history of Luther Academy at Albert Lea is published in the *Evening Tribune* of that city for November 20 in commemoration of the school's thirty-fifth anniversary, which was celebrated on November 21. The thirty-second anniversary of another Norwegian-Lutheran institution, Concordia College at Moorhead, was marked by a home-coming celebration on October 27. Several articles about the history of the school appear in the *Moorhead Daily News* for October 26.

The presentation of a "Red River Valley Pageant of Prosperity," special features of which were representations of the Long expedition of 1823 and of the "pioneers conquering the forest," formed an interesting part of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Red River Valley Dairymen's Association at Crookston on November 21. The text of the pageant, which was written by Mr. Conrad G. Selvig of Crookston, has been published as an eight-page pamphlet.

The movement for marking interesting historic sites in Minnesota is largely unorganized, but there are evidences of an awakening interest in the erection of memorials and markers, and this may be the prelude to more definite organization of the work. Under the title "Monument Urged for Site of Minnesota's Farm School of 1829," in the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 7 Mr.

Arthur T. Adams tells about the career of Philander Prescott, who is known especially for his fur-trading activities. In this account, however, his services in teaching farming to the Indians at Lake Calhoun are the subject of special comment, and the suggestion is made that a monument to him be erected at Lakewood Cemetery, overlooking the scene of his "pioneering in the teaching of agriculture in Minnesota." According to an announcement in the *Pipestone County Star* for October 23, Catlinite chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution is planning to mark with bronze tablets bearing appropriate inscriptions places of historic interest in the vicinity of Pipestone. The St. Paul chapter of the same organization dedicated on Armistice Day, November 11, the monument erected in St. Paul overlooking the river at the end of Summit Avenue in memory of the local men and women who died in the World War.

According to an article by Elizabeth M. Jones in the *St. Paul Daily News* for October 28, plans are being made by the Presbyterians of the Minnesota synod for building a replica of the old stone church at Traverse des Sioux "in the little cemetery two miles away, where lie the bodies of pioneers who organized the church." The stone edifice which was erected in 1853 to replace the log meeting house used in the early forties by the missionary, Stephen R. Riggs, is said to be the "oldest Protestant church building still standing in the state." The story of the rise and decline of Traverse des Sioux — of fur-traders, Indians and Indian treaties, struggling missionaries, and prosperous pioneers — is briefly sketched in the article. A modern picture of the church is among the illustrations. The greater part of the article is reprinted in the *Saint Peter Free Press* for November 14 and in the *New Ulm Review* for November 28.

Methods of receiving telegrams fifty years ago when telegraphy was still in its infancy are described by a pioneer operator, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of December 16. Mr. Hughes tells of receiving the news of the Custer massacre at the St. Paul office of the Northwestern Telegraph Company on July 5, 1876, and of working for forty-eight hours taking in longhand the reports of the disaster.

An account in the *Walker Pilot* for October 4 of the Pillager Indian uprising at Leech Lake in October, 1898, commemorates the twenty-fifth anniversary of that event. The article is reprinted in the *Pillager Herald* for October 12.

Some of the Reverend David Morgan's experiences in aiding the poor and destitute of St. Paul during his service from 1891 to 1916 as superintendent of the Bethel Hotel are described in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for October 21. The article is valuable as an account of the career of a pioneer social worker. An article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 16 deals with another philanthropic institution, the State Public School for Dependent Children at Owatonna, and its superintendent, Dr. Galen A. Merrill. Of special interest is that portion of the article which relates to the records and present occupations of the school's "alumni."

The paper on "Navigation on the Red River of the North, 1858–1879," which was read by Captain Fred A. Bill at the state historical convention at Redwood Falls last June (see *ante*, p. 272–275) is published serially in the Sunday issues of the *Grand Forks* [North Dakota] *Herald* from September 23 to October 21.

An article about a Winnipeg pioneer, William G. Scott, in the *Manitoba Free Press* for October 22, is of interest to Minnesotans, since it includes an account of Mr. Scott's experiences as a farmer and school teacher near Alexandria from 1866 to 1873, the year he went to Winnipeg. Another article of still greater Minnesota interest in the *Free Press* for December 1 deals with transportation between St. Paul and Winnipeg during pre-railroad days. Several contemporary accounts of stage coach journeys to Winnipeg and a description of the "Anson Northup," the first steamboat on the Red River, are included. Portraits and sketches of three pioneer Minnesotans, Norman W. Kittson, Captain Russell Blakeley, and Anson Northup — promoters of stage and steamboat lines between the frontier towns — appear with the article. An interview with Mr. Norman Kittson of St. Paul, a son of the pioneer fur-trader, which is published in the *St. Paul Daily News* for December 2, contains information about early frontier experiences.

An article in the *Western Magazine* for December calls attention to the loss suffered by the scientific world in the "Passing of the Winchells" — Newton H. Winchell, Horace V. Winchell, and Ima Winchell Stacy.

Sketches of fifteen Minnesota physicians who achieved distinction are included in *American Medical Biographies,* by Howard A. Kelley and Walter L. Burrage (Baltimore, 1920. 1320 p.). Selection is confined to those whose deaths occurred before 1919.

Biographical sketches and reminiscences of pioneers appear with usual frequency in the Twin City papers of the past three months. Among these is an outline of the career of the late Chief Justice Calvin L. Brown, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for October 7; an account of the contributions to the industrial development of Minneapolis of William de la Barre, an engineer who has been connected with the mills at the Falls of St. Anthony since 1878, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for October 21; reports of interviews with Dr. Lysander P. Foster, a pioneer Minneapolis physician, in the *Tribune* and the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 4; and a brief account of the Civil War experiences of Captain Frederick W. Dohm of St. Paul in the *Pioneer Press* of October 20. The latter paper publishes also, in its Sunday issues beginning November 4, sketches and portraits of nine "veterans of the city and county service" who are employed in the Ramsey County Courthouse. In the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 18 are printed some reminiscences of Judge John B. Gilfillan occasioned by the sixty-eighth anniversary of his arrival at St. Anthony. Reminiscences by John Vervais, who for fifty years has been employed in "making out abstracts of titles to real property of St. Paul and Ramsey County," appear in the *St. Paul Daily News* for October 21. Naturally the growth of the city is the theme which he develops.

Local History Items

Two promising developments in the field of local history organization have recently occurred. In Redwood County, as an outgrowth of a conference at the state historical convention last

summer, a committee has been appointed to consider plans for a county historical society. In Ramsey County, according to the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 16, plans are being worked out by the Fourth District Federation of Women's Clubs for the establishment of a county historical society to be affiliated with the Minnesota Historical Society. As these new projects are being considered, the St. Louis County Historical Society brings to a successful conclusion its first year of activity. A meeting of that organization was held in Duluth on November 22, with papers on the "Early History of West Duluth, New Duluth, and Their Environs," by Charles E. Lovett; "The Value of History," by W. E. McEwen; "Life and Experiences of Henry W. Wheeler and Sarah C. Wheeler, His Wife, Early St. Louis County Pioneers," by Bert N. Wheeler; and "St. Louis County Chippewas," by the Reverend Frank H. Pequette. The president, Mr. William E. Culkin, told of the important Ely Papers, recently acquired by the society. Stereopticon views were exhibited of the early period and of war days in St. Louis County history.

The Kiwanis Club of Duluth has arranged for a series of talks at its monthly meetings to be given by Mr. William E. Culkin, president of the St. Louis Historical Society, on "The History of Duluth and St. Louis County."

The constitution of the Oneota Temperance Society dated April, 1859, discovered recently among his father's papers by Mr. Theodore Gronewold of St. Paul, is described in an interesting article in the *St. Paul Daily News* for December 2. Brief biographical notes on a number of the signers are presented, for the list includes the names of such prominent figures in the history of northeastern Minnesota as Edmund F. Ely, James Peet, and various members of the Merritt family. Oneota, a village on the northwest shore of St. Louis Bay, was annexed to Duluth in 1889.

"Visiting Around Our County" is the title of a series of interesting local history items which is appearing in the *Anoka Herald*. Extracts from the record book of "Anoka Lodge Number 37, Independent Order of Good Templars," a secret order

which was working for prohibition seventy-five years ago, are published on November 6; some mysterious Indian excavations and earthworks near Itasca are described on November 20; the recollections of two pioneers, Mr. Sabin Rogers of Anoka and Mr. H. H. Larned of Lansing, Michigan, concerning these excavations appear on December 4; and the story of the battle between the Sioux and the Chippewa in 1839 near the junction of the Mississippi and Rum rivers is related on December 11. There is no county in the state which does not offer good opportunities for similar interesting studies in local history.

The issue of the *Ironton News* for October 18 is an enlarged and elaborately illustrated number published in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the paper. In addition to a sketch of the growth of Ironton from 1911 to 1923, this issue contains "A Brief History of the Cuyuna Iron Range," by J. Wilbur Van Evera; an account of the development of the Crosby-Ironton school system; and a number of reminiscent articles by or about pioneers.

An interesting contribution to the history of iron mining in Minnesota is made in an article entitled "Pioneer Mining Man Describes Early Days in Eveleth District," by John H. Hearding, published in *Skilling's Mining Review* for August 18, 1923. Special attention is given to the explorations of David T. Adams in 1892 north of Eveleth and the development of the mine which bears his name. Mr. Hearding's paper was read at the summer convention of the St. Louis County Historical Society (see *ante*, p. 321).

The story of Medo Township, in Blue Earth County, was reviewed in a pageant presented at the Pemberton consolidated school on November 24. A detailed account of the history of the township during the sixty years since its organization is published in the *Blue Earth County Enterprise* of Mapleton for November 30.

The *Caledonia Journal* is publishing in serial form histories of various Houston County townships. Sketches of early settlers, descriptions of pioneer industries, and accounts of the organiza-

tion of La Crescent, Mayville, and Crooked Creek townships have appeared during the past three months.

A "History of the Swedish Lutheran Church of Milaca from Old Records," by its pastor, the Reverend O. G. Berg, appears in three installments in the *Mille Lacs County Times* of Milaca for November 8, 15, and 22. An account of the organization of the church in 1893 and sketches of the various pastors who have led its congregation are included.

The issue of *Levang's Weekly* for September 20 is a "Silver Jubilee Edition" of the paper which has been "published continuously for twenty-five years in Lanesboro." It contains a number of articles of historical interest, including reminiscent letters from old settlers and former residents and accounts of the early history of Lanesboro and Fillmore County reprinted from the history of the county by Edward D. Neill, which was published at Minneapolis in 1882.

In the final article of a series on conditions at the Chippewa reservation at White Earth, published in the *Minnesota Daily Star* from November 5 to 8, Mr. Thomas H. Moodie describes the career of Father Aloysius Hermanowicz, who has served the Indians as a missionary for forty-five years.

A valuable and well-organized congregational history is *A Brief Historical Sketch of the First Danish Baptist Church, Clarks Grove, Minnesota* (1923. 55 p.), compiled by its pastor, the Reverend A. W. Warren, and issued in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the congregation. That the church has been a veritable community center is evidenced by the numerous special activities that have originated in it. For example, it is stated that the Clark's Grove coöperative creamery was born within the church. A deacon of the church, Mr. H. P. Jensen, visited Denmark in 1884 and was impressed by the coöperative system in Danish dairying. Upon his return he became an "ardent spokesman for the creamery enterprise." "Thus it was that on January 28, 1890, a meeting was called at the church. It opened with prayer and then followed an interesting discussion on the creamery enterprise, that led to its estab-

lishment." The author states that "with this creamery the co-operative creamery system was born into the state."

A legal battle involving the status of Pike Island has been in progress between Ramsey and Hennepin counties since the middle of October. For fifty years the island has been on the Ramsey County tax list, but Hennepin County officials now claim that historically it is within the boundaries of their county. Since the boundary of Hennepin County runs down the Mississippi River "in the western channel thereof to center of the main channel of the Minnesota River" and thence up the center of the latter channel, the controversy hinges upon the determination of the mouth of the Minnesota River. Is it above or below Pike Island? Numerous articles about the history of the island appear in the Twin City papers of late October.

Two Twin City churches celebrated their sixty-fifth anniversaries recently — the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis on November 11 and the Plymouth Congregational Church of St. Paul on December 16. Notices and accounts of the celebrations appear in local papers and extensive illustrated histories of the churches are published respectively in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for November 11 and in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 9. Fiftieth anniversaries were commemorated on October 28 by the Virginia Avenue Swedenborgian Church of St. Paul and on December 2 by the First Norwegian-Danish Methodist Episcopal Church of Minneapolis.

In the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 9 the extensions of the city limits of Minneapolis from 1873 to the present are described in an article which announces that Robbinsdale and Richfield are petitioning for annexation. An accompanying map of the "city and its annexations" illustrates the boundary changes of 1873, 1878, 1883, and 1887, which are described in the article.

An interesting description of Christmas festivities in St. Paul in 1849, published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of December 25, is based upon items in contemporary newspapers.

The story of the Reuter family and the farm, now within the city limits of St. Paul, which they have occupied since 1855 is

told in a feature article by J. A. Peterson in the *St. Paul Daily News* for November 11. The farm, which is near the Ford plant, has recently been sold and divided into lots, on which homes for the growing population of the district will be built.

Into an article on the beginnings of the St. Paul school system, in the *St. Paul Daily News* for December 16, Miss Helen Driscoll incorporates copious quotations from a diary kept in 1858 and 1859 by Benjamin Drew, the first superintendent of St. Paul schools. Some of the problems encountered by this pioneer educator sound surprisingly modern. For example, on October 27, 1858, he complains of "insufficient ventilation of whole schoolrooms," and on November 8 he records that one of his teachers has "adopted a new plan on account of her large number of scholars: has one-half attend a. m. and the other half in the p. m." A portrait of Mr. Drew appears with the article.

During the past three months Benjamin Backnumber has presented in his section on "St. Paul Before This," which appears in the Sunday issues of the *St. Paul Daily News,* sketches of Nathaniel McLean, October 28; of Louis Robert, December 23; and of "Old Bets," the "ancient Indian lady who was for many years a familiar figure on the streets" of St. Paul, October 14. The "first newspaper illustrations" used in St. Paul are described in the article for November 25.

Pictures of the members of the St. Paul city council for 1884 are reproduced with a brief descriptive article in the *St. Paul Daily News* for October 28.

The two sections of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 23 which are devoted to accounts of the development of St. Paul during the past year contain a number of articles of historical interest. One of these deals with the growth of the South St. Paul stock yards; another gives a résumé of the development of the St. Paul postoffice from a rough little pigeon-holed box in 1846 to its present proportions. An article about the early settlement of St. Paul and the influence of its location upon its growth is illustrated with interesting early pictures and a modern view of the city.

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SOME RED RIVER FUR-TRADE ACTIVITIES[1]

With the defeat of France in North America in 1763, the French fur-trading posts in the Red River and Saskatchewan valleys became idle. The continual stream of furs flowing through the trading houses of Montreal and Quebec ceased. About the year 1766 numerous Canadian traders, — Scotch, French, and half-breed, — motivated by the spirit of industry and adventure, made their way into the West following the old French trails. In less than a decade they had pushed their enterprises far beyond the French limits. Until 1784 the bulk of the inland fur traffic was in the hands of these independent traders. Unfortunately, the French license system of trading was put aside as incongruous with the principles of free trade. There were no legal restraints. The consequence was a cut-throat system of competition, with all kinds of disorder and crime. Fraud, chicanery, and every concomitant evil were practiced to get the Indian barter. Spirituous liquors were freely and indiscriminately used. In spite of this state of affairs the unrestricted trade acquired great proportions and seriously encroached upon the profits of the Hudson's Bay Company. This company, by virtue of a charter granted by Charles II in 1670, claimed the "sole trade and commerce" over the territory bordering on Hudson Bay and Strait and all the country watered by the streams flowing into the bay. The Canadian adventurers had so advantageously located themselves in the "upland" country and on the sources of the rivers which led to the settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company that the company's trade "was in a great measure cut off from its usual channel." Before the petty traders and trappers penetrated the northern regions the Indians were

[1] A paper read on January 14, 1924, at the seventy-fifth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

accustomed annually to go down to the company's factories on the immediate confines of the great bay and exchange their furs and peltries. But after the arrival of the Canadian there was no longer occasion for them to make these long, toilsome, and perilous journeys, for they were now well supplied at their very doors with the things they wanted.[2]

To such an extent was the Hudson's Bay Company's fur traffic intercepted that its officials in 1773, as a counter measure, extended its operations into the interior. Samuel Hearne in 1774 established Cumberland House on the eastern shore of Sturgeon Lake within five hundred yards of a Montreal trading post. From this period to early in the nineteenth century the company continued to follow the "Canadians to their different establishments," building rival forts and laying plans to supplant their opponents, whom they regarded with open contempt and stigmatized as "pedlars, thieves, and interlopers."[3] The movement to expel these intruders and a smallpox epidemic which raged in the Indian country during the years of 1781 and 1782 led to the formation of a most formidable combination against the company. In the winter of 1783–84 most of the individual traders and a number of Montreal merchants who long had been pursuing similar interests united under the leadership of Benjamin and Joseph

[2] *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index,* 387 (*British Parliamentary Papers,* Commons, 1857, 2 session, vol. 15); Edward Umfreville, *The Present State of Hudson's Bay, Containing a Full Description of that Settlement, and the Adjacent Country; and Likewise of the Fur Trade,* 56, 70, 100–102, 204–207 (London, 1790). The author of the latter volume was employed in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company for eleven years, from 1771 to 1782. The charter of the Hudson's Bay Company is printed in E. H. Oliver, ed., *The Canadian North-west; Its Early Development and Legislative Records,* 1: 135–153 (Canadian Archives, *Publications,* no. 9 — Ottawa, 1914).

[3] Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Laurence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans; in the Years 1789 and 1793,* ix (Philadelphia, 1802); Umfreville, *Present State of Hudson's Bay,* 73.

Frobisher and Simon McTavish. The partnership was called the Northwest Company. A few dissatisfied traders and merchants formed a rival company in 1785. After two years of bitter and ruinous competition the two concerns merged under the name of the Northwest Company. This was not an incorporated company with exclusive privileges, but it claimed rights by reason of discoveries and priority in trade. The new organization grew very rapidly and it was not long before it had established fur routes across the continent extending from Montreal by way of the Great Lakes to the Pacific coast and also penetrating well into the northern regions. From 1795 to 1804 there was a halt in its phenomenal growth. Owing to cupidity and disaffection within its ranks, a faction split off and organized the X. Y. Company. Sir Alexander Mackenzie was the leading spirit of this concern. Again diabolical rivalry existed. There was bloodshed and great loss of property. At one time it seemed that the two contending parties would completely destroy each other. This, however, was avoided after the death of Simon McTavish in July, 1804. In less than four months after his death, there was a reconciliation, and again the Northwest Company was predominant in the West.[4]

The consolidation of the two opposing companies led to a greater development of trade. With almost inconceivable rapidity the Northwesters regained their former vigor. Plans were perfected to meet the opposition of the Hudson's Bay traders, who as early as 1793 pushed into the valleys of the Assiniboine and Red rivers.[5] The Red River Valley in the

[4] Elliott Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest,* 1: 255 n. (New York, 1897).

[5] John McDonell Journal, August 26, 1793. A manuscript copy of this unsigned journal is in the Masson Collection in the library of McGill University at Montreal; photostats of the copy are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society (see *ante,* p. 306). The dates usually accepted by authorities for the penetration of the Hudson's Bay Company into the valleys of the Saskatchewan and Assiniboine rivers are 1793 and 1805 respectively.

next several years was the center of the fighting ground for the two great rivals. The first phase of the competition was decidedly in favor of the Montreal traders. The Hudson's Bay Company labored under several disadvantages, mainly financial. [6]

In spite of the keen opposition from the Hudson's Bay Company and the private trader the net gains of the Northwest Company increased greatly in magnitude. [7] The apogee of its success, however, was reached in 1811. The circumstance which turned the tide of fortune for the Northwesters came in the form of a scheme to colonize the interior of British North America. The promoter of the project was Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, who had already founded colonies on Prince Edward Island and at Baldoon in western Ontario. His much misrepresented purpose was to establish a settlement on the banks of the Red River for the unsuccessful Scotch and Irish peasantry, who were living in a most miserable state. After several unsuccessful attempts to interest the British government he turned his attention to the Hudson's Bay Company. First he intrenched himself in the company by becoming its principal stockholder. Thereupon in 1811, despite spirited opposition, he purchased 116,000

[6] *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company,* 428; Beckles Willson, *The Great Company,* 2:123–129 (London, 1900). In 1809 the Hudson's Bay Company petitioned the chancellor of the exchequer for temporary assistance. After a careful consideration of the request the committee of the Privy Council for trade decided in the negative. The only consideration received by the corporation was permission to store furs free of duty for twelve months.

[7] In 1805 the "first" free traders made their appearance in the Red River Valley. These men were hunters, trappers, and *voyageurs* of the X. Y. Company who were discharged in the country upon the coalition of that organization with the Northwesters. Instead of returning to Canada they engaged independently in the fur traffic and centered their activities around the Pembina River. Alexander Henry, the younger, the principal Northwest Company trader at Pembina in 1805, complains that they were "as great a nuisance . . . as their former employers." He says that it was his policy "never to give a man his freedom in this country on any conditions whatever," and that he had "always found the benefit of such procedure." Coues, *New Light,* 1:269.

square miles of territory south and west of Lake Winnipeg. This was the vital region of the fur traffic.[8] Lord Selkirk without delay proceeded to carry out his scheme for the proposed colony.

In the autumn of 1812 a small detachment of immigrants arrived on the banks of the Red River near its junction with the Assiniboine. Throughout the succeeding decade several more contingents came. The settlement of the West holds few tales more vivid and tragic than that of the Red River. The colony was planted directly across the path of the Northwest Company. From the beginning the company left no "means untried to thwart" this encroachment. It was convinced that the scheme of colonization was nothing more than a strategic move of the Hudson's Bay Company to obstruct its fur routes into the West and deprive it of its lucrative trading posts. It determined that the settlement should not succeed. An insidious struggle ensued between the two companies, the brunt of the depredations falling upon the innocent colonists. The climax was reached in 1816, when a murderous attack was made upon the colony by the Indians and half-breeds, the obsequious allies of the Northwest Company. Some twenty settlers were killed, including the governor. In 1817 and 1818 the imperial government intervened. Mutual restitution was made as far as possible and the sanguinary conflict stopped. Bitter antipathy, however, continued until 1821, when the two companies united and were reorganized under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company. The propitious coalition not only concentrated fur-trade activity but also made for the peace and prosperity of the incipient settlement.[9]

[8] *A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries of North America, since the Connexion of the Right Hon. the Earl of Selkirk with the Hudson's Bay Company, and His Attempt to Establish a Colony on the Red River*, 3–5, appendix 1 (London, 1817).

[9] *Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries*, 9, 15, appendix 13; *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 395, 419, 428.

The Hudson's Bay Company in its grant of Assiniboia to Lord Selkirk in 1811 expressly reserved to itself two important prerogatives over the district, namely, "all rights of jurisdiction whatsoever granted to said Company by their Charter" and the complete monopoly of "trade and traffick." It was specifically stipulated that neither Selkirk nor his heirs nor his settlers should "carry on or establish or attempt to carry on or establish . . . any trade or traffick, in or relating to any kind of furs or peltry." These reservations constitute the company's first effort to safeguard itself against encroachments of the Red River inhabitants. During the first eight or ten years of the settlement's existence there was scarcely any attempt on the part of the colonists to infringe upon these restrictions, as the problems of colonization were paramount. It the three subsequent decades, however, colonization and the fur trade came into direct collision. The old Hudson's Bay Company directorate had accepted Selkirk's scheme of settlement only with great reluctance. The officials were thoroughly convinced that the purposes of colonization and the interests of the fur trade were incompatible. Owing, however, to the predominant influence of Lork Selkirk and to the current opposition of the Northwest Company, fur-trade activities were subordinated to colonization. Upon the death of Lord Selkirk in 1820 and the fusion of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest companies in 1821 "the interests of fur-trade once more predominated." [10]

During 1821 and 1822 the population of Red River doubled. This resulted directly from the reorganization of the Hudson's Bay Company. Hundreds of its employees — English, Scotch, French-Canadian, and half-breed — were discharged from its service; others positively refused continued connection with a corporation under a title which they fairly despised. For the most part these traders, trappers, and

[10] Oliver, *The Canadian North-west*, 1: 156, 160; Chester Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada*, 34, 169–171 (*Oxford Historical and Literary Studies*, vol. 7 — Oxford, 1916).

voyageurs did not return to Canada. Some crossed over into the United States and became a valuable asset to the American Fur Company; others, together with a few Americans, in 1822 organized the Columbia Fur Company, whose chief establishment was strategically located on Lake Traverse. The majority, however, were content to take up permanent abode in or about Red River. Many of them intermarried with the Indians and a large half-breed population grew up. The importance of this new influx of settlers in the colony cannot be overestimated. These men, by nature a hunting and trapping people, found it extremely difficult to desist completely from participation in the fur traffic and to pursue the more domestic duties of permanent civilization. Out of these came the independent traders and merchants, and as early as 1822 several of them had already got into the field. Supplied with food, clothing, ammunition, and sundry other articles, they slipped out into the prairies and bartered with the Indians for furs. And, too, it was not long before they had built up a *sub rosa* trade across the border with the American fur-traders, with whom they had first come in contact on their biennial buffalo hunts into United States territory. When the local officers of the Hudson's Bay Company became aware of this traffic, which they termed illicit, methods for its suppression were immediately adopted.[11] Forty-nine of the leading inhabitants of the colony, twenty-five of whom were De Meurons or Swiss and the remainder Highlanders and Norwegians, were persuaded to sign an agreement binding the settlement not to "engage in the sale of spirituous liquors or the fur trade."[12] This agreement was never effective.

[11] William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River,* 1:445 (London, 1825); Donald Gunn and Charles R. Tuttle, *History of Manitoba from the Earliest Settlement to 1835,* 224 (Ottawa, 1880); George A. Belcourt, "Department of Hudson's Bay," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1:221 (St. Paul, 1872); Oliver, *Canadian North-west,* 1:226, 240–243.

[12] George Bryce, *The Old Settlers of Red River,* 6 (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, *Transactions,* no. 19—Winnipeg, 1885).

The half-breeds maintained that they, as half-breeds, were in no sense bound to forfeit a natural right.

Even before 1822 the company began to concern itself with the approach of the Americans. As early as 1816 the American Fur Company established a trading post at Red Lake; it already had fur houses at Sandy Lake and on the St. Peter's River, now called the Minnesota; and in 1822 three more important posts were occupied between Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods. [13]

The illicit Red River fur-traffickers found their way into Minnesota by trails well traced. The Northwest Company had extended its enterprises to the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers, and in 1816 and 1817 the British trader, Colonel Robert Dickson, and his men were located on Lake Traverse at the head of the St. Peter's River. Dickson was used to getting his goods and supplies from the Selkirk colony, bringing them up the Red River "in carts made for the purpose." Usually four or five days were necessary for the journey. The Hudson's Bay Company also carried its operations up the Red River into Minnesota. In the spring of 1818 the company sent Louis Bellain and two other agents to the American Fur Company settlement at Red Lake. They defiantly bartered goods and liquor with the Indians and made preparation for a winter outfit near the lake. [14]

For an account of the De Meurons, see Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement; Its Rise, Progress, and Present State,* 40 (London, 1856).

[13] Oliver, *Canadian North-west,* 1:212; Chester Martin, "The Hudson's Bay Company's Monopoly of the Fur Trade at the Red River Settlement, 1821–1850," in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings,* 7:258 (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1914); and the following letters in the letter books, known as the Mackinac Register, of the agent of the American Fur Company at Mackinac: Ramsay Crooks and Robert Stuart to John Jacob Astor, July 21, 1817; Crooks to Astor, June 21, 1819, and November 30, 1821; and Stuart to David Stone, May 19, 1823. The original letter books are in the Astor House at Mackinac; photostatic copies are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

[14] "Pike's Explorations in Minnesota, 1805–6," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1:397–399 (St. Paul, 1872); *Niles' Weekly Register,* 14:388

Commercial intercourse between the Red River settlers and the United States frontier settlements was started in 1820. In 1818 and 1819 grasshoppers completely destroyed the Red River grain crops. To secure a supply of seed grains, a body of settlers in the dead of winter went through the Minnesota wilds to Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi. The commodities purchased, consisting of oats, peas, wheat, and a few chickens, were loaded on three Mackinac boats and transported up the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers and down the Bois des Sioux and Red rivers to the devastated colony.[15] This expedition is important, for it led to the establishment of a very extensive trade with the American frontiersmen.

The earliest Selkirk colonists brought over cattle and sheep from Scotland, but these were either killed or lost during the troubles with the Northwest Company. About 1819 British traders passed a few head of cattle from St. Mary's or Sault Ste. Marie through the United States Indian country to the settlement, but these did not meet all demands. Taking advantage of this opportunity for profitable trade, Alexis Bailly, an American half-breed trader, in 1821 drove a small herd of cattle to Red River and sold them, the inhabitants alleged, at exorbitant prices. In subsequent years a number of American stockmen bought up in Louisiana, Kentucky, and Missouri several droves of cattle and flocks of sheep and sold them in the colony at a goodly profit.[16]

Early in the spring of 1822 Alexander McDonell, governor of the Red River colony, John Pritchard, manager of the

(August 1, 1818); Eustache Roussain to George Boyd, July 17, 1819, and Crooks and Stuart to Boyd, July 14, 1819, Mackinac Register.

[15] Henry H. Sibley, "Reminiscences; Historical and Personal," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1:470 (St. Paul, 1872); Belcourt, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1:220.

[16] Keating, *Narrative,* 2:66; Sibley, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1:469; Roussain to Boyd, July 17, 1819, and Crooks to Joseph Rolette, March 28, 1822, Mackinac Register. Frequent mention of cattle and sheep passing through Minnesota to Red River during the twenties is made by

Buffalo Wool Company, and James Bird, a Hudson's Bay Company chief factor, requisitioned of a Mississippi River merchant "sundry articles," the produce of the country, at the value of approximately forty-five hundred pounds. It seems quite likely that after several months of delay the order was filled and delivered at Fort Garry.[17] By these several transactions American trade influence gradually advanced toward the British frontier and a new market was opened up to the Red River hunters and trappers.

Shortly after the death of Lord Selkirk the Hudson's Bay Company officials in Rupert's Land assumed a dictatorial attitude toward the struggling colony. It was feared that unless a "drastic management" was adopted, the settlement "would 'ultimately ruin the trade.'" The company's policy was always to keep the fur trade and the sale of goods and supplies exclusively under its control. Through chartered and licensed rights, it aimed to keep out all competitors, thereby making itself the sole market for the colony produce.[18] But the opening of a Minnesota outlet proved a stimulus which saved the settlement from permanent inactivity.

Throughout the twenties the Red River traffickers enjoyed freedom of trade, except during 1822 and 1823, when there

Lawrence Taliaferro, Indian agent at Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840, in his Journals. On at least one occasion Indians between St. Peter's and the Selkirk colony fell upon such an expedition, killing or driving off both cattle and sheep. See E. T. Langham to General William Clark, August 7, 1828, in the Taliaferro Papers. The Taliaferro Journals and Papers are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

[17] Crooks to Maitlands Garden and Auldjo, March 28, 1822, Mackinac Register; Oliver, *Canadian North-west*, 1:253. Alexander McDonell, John Pritchard, and a Mr. Logan, who is not mentioned in the Crooks letter, early in 1822 made application "to keep a store in the Colony for providing articles for the use of the settlers." The petition was referred to the Selkirk trustees. "On account of the new plan of obtaining articles from the Hudson's Bay Company," the concession was refused. The requisition for the goods and supplies from the United States had been made nearly a year before.

[18] Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada*, 171; *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 383.

was an attempt to extend the company's monopoly of trade over the colonists "even to the extent of forbidding them to buy horses, leather, or provisions from the Indians." This endeavor, however, came to naught. Captain Andrew Bulger, the Red River governor in 1822 and 1823, protested to the Selkirk trustees, who regarded the affair with enough concern to call the attention of the Hudson's Bay officials in London to it. At this the London directors caused the offensive restriction to be removed and wrote George Simpson, the governor of the company's territories, that the late proceedings in "the interest of the Fur Trade . . . were most unwarrantable as well as extremely imprudent and indiscreet." In the next year Simpson was further informed that the "Governor and Committee of the Company in London would 'not suffer the fur trade to oppose or oppress the Settlement, and if it be attempted, the expence of redressing the evil must and will fall on the fur trade as in Justice it ought.'" [19] From this date until the passing of the district of Assiniboia to the company in 1834, freedom of trade was more or less undisturbed.

Naturally, after the transfer, when the company attempted to establish civil government over the colony and especially to enforce its chartered privileges of trade, it was found difficult to conform the duty of legislator and administrator with the interests of the private trader. The very first act of the council on February 12, 1835, was the enactment of an impolitic tariff of seven and one-half per cent on the imports and exports of the settlement. The revenue collected was to be used in the payment of expenses incurred in the "maintenance of tranquility" and the enforcement of the "laws, rules and regulations." The main purpose of this tariff, although not so stated, was to enforce the Hudson's Bay Company's

[19] H. G. Gunn, "The Fight for Free Trade in Rupert's Land," in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 4:76 (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912); Oliver, *Canadian North-west*, 1:240; Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada*, 172.

commercial creed. It struck directly at the petty trader and merchant, who now was engaged in a flourishing smuggling traffiic to St. Louis and St. Peter's and other American outposts. A bitter outcry of dissatisfaction arose throughout Red River, particularly from the French half-breed element. Mass meetings were held before the gates of Fort Garry and the repugnant regulation was openly and systematically violated. Finally, the leaders of the opposition petitioned Alexander Christie, the district governor, for its repeal. He advised them to pay the duty and "their request for exemption would meet with favorable consideration." With this promise the tax was paid, but the company said nothing more about exemption. In 1836, on the request of the London officers, the colonial council reduced the obnoxious tariff to five per cent and again in the next year to four per cent. It remained at this rate until Canada took over the territory in 1870.[20]

During the first half of the Hudson's Bay Company's rule over the Red River there was constant friction between the independent traders of the settlement and the Fort Garry officials. In spite of the company's vigilance and obstructive trading measures, the free traders determined to continue their lucrative enterprises across the border; they would defy any attempt of the company to extend its monopoly. Quantities of furs — beaver, fisher, mink, marten, raccoon, and buffalo robes — and other native products were secretly carried over the boundary and exchanged for American produce. Usually the interlopers departed in the dark of night and avoided the accustomed trails so as to keep clear of the Fort Garry constabulary force. Pembina, on the American side, was the smugglers' rendezvous. Merchandise secured from Galena or St. Paul was left at Pembina until there was an opportunity to smuggle it into the settlement. Of course,

[20] Oliver, *Canadian North-west*, 1:267; Gunn and Tuttle, *Manitoba*, 286, 297; Gunn, in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 4:81.

the trade into Minnesota involved many risks and dangers. The trails to the Mississippi led through a wild waste of country inhabited by numerous hostile Indian tribes. The American markets, nevertheless, were very attractive. Peltries and hides sold there at a much higher price than in the markets of the Hudson's Bay Company.[21] The value of the Red River trade was as highly remunerative to the American settlements as it was to the Red River colony. Naturally, American merchants and traders encouraged and greatly aided "the success of these illicit enterprises."

Previous to 1829 the American Fur Company had established a fur-trading post at Pembina, only some seventy miles from Fort Garry.[22] In 1840 Joseph Rolette, the son of the famous upper Mississippi British Indian trader of the early nineteenth century, was put in charge of the company's affairs in that region. So successful was he in competing with the Hudson's Bay Company and in sustaining the illegal fur traffic across the frontier that in 1843 he started a line of carts from Pembina to St. Paul. In the same year, however, the "Yankee trader," Norman W. Kittson, was made general manager of the American Fur Company's operations in northern Minnesota, and Rolette became Kittson's chief representative.[23] During the ensuing decade a hotly contested

[21] Samuel Woods, *Report of Major Wood*[s], *Relative to His Expedition to Pembina Settlement, and the Condition of Affairs on the Northwestern Frontier of the Territory of Minnesota,* 14 (31 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 51 — serial 577). Prices paid for furs by the American Fur Company and by the Hudson's Bay Company are compared in *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company,* 283.

[22] A manuscript trader's ledger kept at Lake Traverse from 1829 to 1831, now among the Sibley Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, contains an "Inventory of Goods sent to the Big Fork of Red River — Sept. 18th 1829."

[23] Warren Upham and Mrs. Rose B. Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies, 1655–1912,* 654 (*Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 14 — St. Paul, 1912); J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of Saint Paul, and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota,* 48 (*Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 4 — St. Paul, 1876); Woods, *Pembina Settlement,* 18 (serial 577).

trade war waged along the British line. Red River private hunters and trappers increased rapidly in number and became more determined in their secret enterprises. Kittson and his employees stimulated considerably the constant ferment in the Red River settlement. The American influence is incalculable. On March 2, 1846, Kittson wrote to Henry H. Sibley, partner and chief factor at St. Peter's of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company of St. Louis, "We have created quite a censation in our favour in their colony, which is working strongly against them," meaning the Hudson's Bay Company.[24] Thus during the period from 1844 to 1849, numerous petitions signed by Red River half-breeds were sent to American governing officials requesting leave to establish themselves within the United States as citizens. The financial success of the American company in this fight is extremely doubtful. Although Kittson at the beginning of each season wrote Sibley letters that were full of optimism, the fur and peltry returns were nearly always discouraging.[25] Nor did the Hudson's Bay Company prosper; its losses were severe. It was the free traders of Red River who, in the end, actually reaped the benefits.

The tendency of the Red River traffickers to set at defiance the Hudson's Bay Company's fur monopoly did not pass unopposed. The company had no intention of placidly allowing itself to be dispossessed of its ancient rights and privileges. It determined to stop the unlawful traffic at all costs. Consequently, a more rigid system of espionage was adopted

[24] Sibley Papers; *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company,* 135. In September, 1842, the American Fur Company broke up. In the next year Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company took over its business. The name American Fur Company was applied to this concern more commonly than its real name.

[25] John McLaughlin to James Buchanan, October 22 and November 14, 1845, in the archives of the United States Department of State, Miscellaneous Letters. The Minnesota Historical Society has copies of these letters. See also Kittson to Sibley, December 4, 1847, and April 6, 1848, and Belcourt to Sibley, January 15, 1848, in the Sibley Papers.

"which fell as hard upon the innocent as it did upon the guilty." On the slightest suspicion or provocation searches were made for the violators of the fur trade law. The settlers complained that traders on their trips to Minnesota who were suspected of having furs or peltries were stopped by armed police, their property was seized, and in many instances their trunks were broken open and the contents confiscated. In the colony, constables armed with muskets and bayonets searched the houses of the settlers for furs. If the inhabitants resisted these invasions, their huts were forcibly entered. "Every cranny and crevice that could conceal anything was turned inside out. Even the tall chimney that formed an indispensable feature of these humble homes was made to yield up its secrets; a stout pole, which invariably formed part of the armament of a deputation of this sort, being used for the purpose." Out on the prairies Cuthbert Grant, the warden of the plains, and his emissaries, conducted similar peremptory seizures. All peltries and skins found were confiscated and the offending culprits were either arbitrarily arrested and placed in jail to await trial or "made to suffer the pains and penalties on the spot." It was not at all uncommon for the violators of the fur law to have their shanties burned to the ground. [26]

Despite this spirited reaction the independent traders steadily increased in numbers. They had no intention, moreover, of submitting complacently to the company's will. They persistently fought for their objective. The Fort Garry authorities, realizing that their adroit measures of espionage were inadequate, in December, 1844, ushered in a more restrictive and coercive system to suppress the clandestine practices. In this year Kittson had become well established at Pembina. He had successfully made fur-trading arrangements with Andrew McDermott and James Sinclair,

[26] *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company,* 438; Gunn and Tuttle, *Manitoba,* 254–256, 296; Gunn, in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings,* 4:84.

unquestionably the main leaders in the settlement who opposed the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly in furs.[27] Half-breeds and other free traders daringly smuggled furs across the boundary; and Pembina became more and more a depository for contraband merchandise. Kittson wrote Sibley that he was sparing "no trouble in giving them [*the Hudson's Bay Company*] the 'Devil.'"[28]

On December 7, 1844, Governor Christie issued a proclamation which denied to all persons who interfered with the company's fur-trade the right of importing goods from England by way of the company's ship. The proclamation reads:

Whereas certain persons are known to be trafficking in furs, I hereby give notice that . . . the Hudson's Bay Company's ship will henceforward not receive at any port goods addressed to any person whatever, unless he shall, at least a week before the day appointed for the departure of the winter express, lodge at the office of Upper Fort Garry a declaration to the following effect: "I hereby declare that . . . I have neither directly or indirectly trafficked in furs . . . moreover, if before the middle of August next I shall appear to have acted contrary to . . . this declaration, I hereby agree that the Hudson's Bay Company shall be entitled either to detain my imports of next season at York Factory for a whole year, or to purchase them at original cost of the goods alone."

Again on December 20, 1844, the governor ordered that all letters be sent to Fort Garry for perusal. "Every letter must

[27] McDermott to Sibley, June 3, 1844; Kittson to Sibley, May 7, 1844, July 16, 1844, September 10, 1845, Sibley Papers. McDermott, the "greatest merchant on the banks of the Red River," settled there in 1812. He served as councilor of Assiniboia for a number of years. In 1845 he was accused of violating the fur law and in indignation resigned from the Council of Assiniboia. From this time on he actively traded furs with Kittson. Sinclair, also a Red River merchant, incurred the displeasure of the company for trading illicitly in furs. Company officials on several occasions refused to import and export goods or dispatch mail for him. Oliver, *Canadian North-west*, 1:62; Martin, in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 7:262.

[28] August 24, 1848, Sibley Papers.

have the writer's name written by himself in the left hand corner below," so that if he were suspected of trading in furs it could be opened and examined. Letters not addressed in conformity with this regulation were not dispatched. In less than three years, however, the measure became ineffective, for the free traders simply sent their mail by the Kittson express to Fort Snelling. [29]

In the furtherance of this coercive policy, Adam Thom, the recorder of Rupert's Land, at a council meeting of June 16, 1845, proposed a new set of resolutions for the control and regulation of the imports to the settlement. At the council meeting of June 19, 1845, they were unanimously carried. Accordingly every British subject in the settlement who was an actual resident and not an illicit fur-trader was allowed to import once a year goods from Great Britain or St. Paul to the amount of ten pounds local value. But he had to declare that such imports were intended only for his own use. Further it was enacted that in case the inhabitant "personally accompanied both his exports and imports" and declared that such goods were "to be consumed by himself or to be sold . . . to actual consumers, within the settlement," he could import to the amount of fifty pounds local value. In the next month the governor and council levied a twenty per cent *ad valorem* impost on all goods and supplies from Great Britain and the United States for those persons suspected of trading in furs or of aiding others to do so. Those importers exempted from the tariff had to be licensed. [30]

In addition to these various enactments there was another attempt made by the company to protect its monopolized rights. A new land deed was devised which made it obligatory for all those who would hold land to accept the following conditions regulating the indenture: The purchaser was not to deal

[29] *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 265, 272; Sinclair to Sibley, January 30, 1848, Sibley Papers.

[30] Oliver, *Canadian North-west*, 1:317–319; *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 373.

in furs. He promised that he would not "without the license or consent of the said Governor and Company . . . carry on or establish, or attempt to carry on or establish in any parts of North America, any trade or traffic in or relating to any hind [*kind*] of skins, furs, peltry, or dressed leather, nor in any manner directly or indirectly aid or abet any person or persons in carrying on such trade or traffic." The purchaser was not to violate the company's exclusive privileges. He promised that he would not "infringe or violate the exclusive rights, powers, privileges, and immunities of commerce, trade and traffic, . . . of or belonging . . . to . . . the said Governor and Company." And lastly the purchaser promised that he would not "at any time during the said term [*one thousand years*], underlet, or assign, or otherwise alienate, or dispose, or part with, the actual possession of the said land hereby demised or any part thereof, for all or any part of the said term, or any interest derived under the same, without the consent in writing of the said Governor and Company." In case any of these provisions were violated, the deed was rendered invalid and the land was forfeited. The main purpose of the indenture is plain. It was just another attempt of the company to guard and restrict its fur privileges. Curiously enough, it did not have the desired effect. People simply squatted on the land without a deed.[31]

It is true that the colonists of Red River had no means of redress for their grievances. The only tribunal of justice was under the control of Recorder Thom. It need be no matter of surprise that Judge Thom should uphold the company's pretension to exclusive trade at the cost of the personal liberties of the inhabitants. As an employee of the company he naturally did not always take an impartial stand on such matters. Ultimately this coercion created a spirit of discontent and bad feeling among all the peoples of the settlement. Here-

[31] *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 96, 361.

tofore the French and English half-breeds had held apart. Now they joined forces and made common cause of their grievance. They resolved that the Hudson's Bay Company should no longer destroy their personal liberty. They determined that every person who so desired should have free and full right in the pursuance of trade; in short, they decided that the great monopoly should end. [32]

In the course of the strife occasional appeals were made to the Canadian and British governments as well as to the provincial authorities. In 1845 a number of half-breeds petitioned Governor Christie, urging him to answer definitely a number of questions pertaining to their rights and status. They urged that they, as half-breeds, were entitled to the same privileges as the aborigines. But the governor, in reply, stated that they, as half-breeds, did not "possess certain privileges over their fellow citizens, who have not been born in the country," and they could only hope to exercise the rights of British subjects. In answer to another query he stated that any purchaser of lands would have the right to trade in furs if he had not "willed" it away by assenting to any "restrictive condition." This "restrictive condition" referred to the new land indenture previously mentioned. But he went on to qualify the statement by saying that "such an assumption, of course, although admissible of itself, is inconsistent with your general views; the conditions of tenure . . . have always been well understood to prohibit any infraction of the company's privileges." [33]

Of course the governor's reply did not satisfy the half-breeds and consequently the spirit of antipathy was not mitigated but embittered. Soon after, two petitions complaining of the onerous nature of the company's rule were framed

[32] George Bryce, *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 443 (London, 1910).

[33] Alexander Begg, *History of the North-west*, 1:261–264 (Toronto, 1894).

respectively by the French and English inhabitants of the colony. They were presented to the imperial authorities on February 17, 1847, by Alexander K. Isbister, a London lawyer and an educator. Isbister was a half-breed who was born in Rupert's Land and educated in England. He naturally sympathized with the Red River settlers and actively aided them in winning freedom from the company.

The colonial office, in response to the memorials, proposed to get a more definite and accurate statement of the charges made by the complainants. Isbister interpreted the letter from Earl Grey, secretary of state for the colonies, of February 2, 1848, to mean that the imperial government intended to send an investigating commission to the Red River colony. He complained that such a commission would be unsatisfactory as it was likely to be influenced and prejudiced by the Fort Garry officials, in so far as it would be dependent upon the company "for conveyance and support." Earl Grey, on February 17, 1848, informed him that the colonial office did not "contemplate the appointment of a 'Commission of Inquiry' into the allegations against the Hudson's Bay Company." But in the meantime, letters of inquiry were dispatched to Lord Elgin, governor-general of Canada, Governor W. B. Caldwell of Assiniboia, and Sir John H. Pelly, London governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Pelly denied the various accusations. The reports of Lord Elgin and Governor Caldwell were favorable to the company. After these returns, fierce arguments ensued for some time. Both parties secured testimonies from various interested friends. Isbister, the principal spokesman for the colonists, went so far as to question the validity of the company's charter. Finally, Earl Grey informed Isbister that the validity of the company's charter, recognized by the Acts of Parliament, was beyond question. He considered that there "were no grounds for making an application to Parliament on the subject of oppression alleged . . . to have been suffered by the inhabitants of the territory over which

the powers of the Hudson's Bay Company extend." Earl Grey concluded by saying that he felt sure that the company would willingly "consider any representations which might be made of substantial grievances." [34]

With this disposition of the matter Isbister was not satisfied. He continued to keep in touch with the Red River people and to advocate their cause. At last, on July 5, 1849, the British House of Commons addressed the Crown for an inquiry "to ascertain the legality of the powers in respect to territory, trade, taxation, and government . . . claimed or exercised by the Company . . . in North America." The Crown assented to the investigation. Earl Grey accordingly asked the Hudson's Bay Company for an *ex parte* statement of those claims. Its report was laid before the imperial jurisconsults, Sir John Jervis and Sir John Romilly, on October 30, 1849, for examination. They were of the opinion "that the rights claimed by the Company properly belonged to them." They suggested, however, that if it were thought desirable the question might be referred to the judicial committee of the Privy Council by means of a petition to the Crown embodying the charges against the company. Earl Grey then asked Isbister if he would appear as a party to the prosecution. This he declined. The chief reason for the refusal probably was that the party who prosecuted had to defray all the expenses of the investigation. [35] Isbister and other interested friends did not see their way clear to do this and so the inquiry ended abruptly in 1850.

During the interval between the preparation of the petitions and their submittal to Earl Grey the home government sent out to the colony a regiment of soldiers under the command of Colonel J. F. Crofton. In the autumn of 1846 military government was proclaimed and the dissidents were quieted

[34] *British Parliamentary Papers,* Commons, 1849, 1 session, 35: 6–9, 18, 20–47, 97–100, 101, 113.

[35] *British Parliamentary Papers,* Commons, 1850, 38: 3, 6–10, 13.

for the time being.[36] But just as soon as the troops were withdrawn in 1848, the excitement began again. True enough, some fifty-six pensioners under Caldwell replaced the British regulars, but the pensioners "were neither respected nor feared," and the illegal fur-traders became more open in their clandestine operations.[37]

The American Fur and Hudson's Bay companies' fur-trade fight lent itself advantageously to the success of the Red River traders. This competition was the most important single factor in the gaining of freedom of trade. In the spring of 1849 there was considerable commotion in the settlement. Guillaume Sayer and three other half-breeds were arraigned before the court of Assiniboia charged with illicit trafficking in furs. The half-breeds and other free traders determined that in case of conviction no punishment should be inflicted and that if they could not prevent punishment by quiet means they would resort to violence. On the day set for the trial the excitement was intense. Under the leadership of Louis Riel, father of the Red River rebellion leader of 1869, some five or six hundred half-breeds armed with guns "assembled in a mob around the court house, and fired several volleys of musketry." The court was intimidated. In the *Minnesota Pioneer* a contemporary describes humorously the fright of one Judge Hugh Poleson. "Poleson . . . was seized with a panic in his body and limbs, besides feeling rather uneasy *himself*. His Honor felt like taking an airing — fatigued probably with the confinement of the court house, concluded to get away from the 'noise and confusion;' or perhaps he

[36] Kittson wrote to Sibley on February 11, 1847, that "the arrival of troops has created a great change in the settlement, and one of the greatest is the reducing the inhabitants to a state of starvation." Without doubt this statement is extreme. Sibley Papers.

[37] John McLaughlin, a Red River free trader, wrote to Sibley on June 10, 1848: "We are to have a lot of old pensioners and their families amounting to nearly 500 souls in all saddled upon us in lieu of the troops at present stationed here." Sibley Papers.

felt disgusted with the drudgery of business — or — well, no matter why; his Honor was taken with a sudden leaving. With most uncharacteristic liberality, he paid a by-stander $5 to take his seat on the bench (a bass-wood man might have answered the same purpose), and sneaked out through the crowd; mounted his horse and fled at full speed." The jury found Sayer guilty but he escaped punishment and was set free. At this the half-breeds considered that they had gained their objective — free trade — although the court had made no mention of free trade in the future. Like wildfire the cry, "Le commerce est libre — vive la liberté," spread throughout the land, and the outcome was freedom of trade.[38] From henceforth the company's fur monopoly in the Red River settlement was a thing of the past, and the creaking Red River carts continued to make their way over the level plains and down the valley of the Mississippi to St. Paul.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

MACALESTER COLLEGE
ST. PAUL

[38] *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), July 26 and August 2, 1849; Martin, in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 7: 264.

THE 1924 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The seventy-fifth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, on January 14, opened with a session devoted to the fourth annual conference on local history work. The general subject of discussion at this conference, which was held at 10:00 A.M. in the auditorium of the society's building, was "The Museum in Relation to the Community." Among the thirty persons who were present were individuals interested in local history projects in Anoka, Lake Crystal, Mankato, Minneapolis, Morris, Northfield, and St. Paul. The presiding officer at the conference, Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, announced that the object of the discussion was twofold: to bring out the relation of the museum to the community and to make clear the relation of the local museum to the state museum.

The discussion was then opened by Mr. Frank O. Swain of Lake Crystal, who first spoke of the natural interest of people in their past and the vital need of preserving historical records. Every county ought to provide a home in which to house its collection of records. Such a home or museum, he suggested, should be located in the county seat in order that a large proportion of the county's population may be able to come in contact with it. It should be centrally located in the town and should not fail to employ window exhibits and signs to draw the attention of passers-by. The problem of securing funds for such an institution, Mr. Swain indicated, is a serious one. Until official support can be obtained, private gifts must be sought. "Where advisable the museum could be associated with the public library, having the same staff of caretakers and the expenses thus divided." These county

museums, he said, should be affiliated with the state museum, "the latter acting as a clearing house for the exchange of relics, thereby making more complete the variety of relics in the different counties." The counties in turn would present to the state museum objects for its collections. Thus considerable field work could be accomplished through the agency of the local museum. In conclusion, the speaker called attention to the Indian village sites, mounds, and trails in Blue Earth County, which are rich in historical and archeological interest.

The second speaker, Mrs. F. A. Hancock of Morris, chairman of the Stevens County War Records Committee, told of the memorial room or Stevens County War Museum which resulted from the activity of the local war records committee. One room in the Stevens County Memorial Armory, which was erected in 1921, houses the notable collection brought together by this committee. Among the materials there preserved are files of Morris newspapers running back to the first issue, — for August 4, 1876, — of *Frontier Business*, a pioneer newspaper enterprise of the county. Many valuable World War objects are preserved in the museum, and the speaker mentioned a number of these items. Among miscellaneous objects to which she referred was a "bird's eye view of Morris in 1880." Some of the materials in the collection are loans, but, said the speaker, few things, once deposited, are ever withdrawn. An interesting and representative collection has been built up in Morris. "A similar room," said Mrs. Hancock, "might be fitted up in almost any town where there is a room available in courthouse, library, armory or municipal building." A suitable room and funds are not enough, however, to insure success for a county museum. The enterprise needs "a committee willing and able to give sufficient time and in particular two or three persons who have the 'collector's spirit,' who enjoy the game and have the patience to pursue a possible exhibit and get it safely housed."

Mrs. Margaret Hoffman, public librarian of Worthington, who was scheduled to participate in the conference, particularly to tell of the successful assembling of a large collection of historical relics at the time of a recent community pageant in Worthington (see *ante,* p. 319), was unable to be present. Miss Mary V. Carney, instructor in history, Central High School, St. Paul, continued the discussion, taking as her topic the "Value of the Museum for Educational Purposes." She said that although the library is ordinarily a good place for a museum, the school building — if room can be made available in it — is an excellent place for the exhibits because of the immediate use that can there be made of them. The speaker suggested that in the planning of a school museum three units might be taken up: Indian life in Minnesota, pioneer days, and Minnesota at war. She urged that the school children provide a central exhibit for each unit by preparing a model of some particular object or scene of the period, for example, an Indian wigwam, a log cabin, and a scene from camp life. In cases and on walls might be displayed the real historical objects collected in the community. Miss Carney illustrated her main point by showing the audience a model of a spinning wheel made with great care by a boy who chose thus to demonstrate some aspect of pioneer life rather than to write a theme. Such school work could be undertaken even if the community had a county museum. In fact such activities would stimulate the interest of children in both the county and the state museums.

The next speaker, Miss Laura D. Parkinson of Mechanic Arts High School, St. Paul, emphasized the educational value of class visits to the museum. She presented a number of interesting comments from students who had visited the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society and asserted that as a result of museum study the school is socialized, learning vitalized, sympathy broadened, and imagination quickened. A number of suggestions made by students for

increasing the value of museum work were brought out. Among these were the avoidance of the crowding of exhibits, the use of life-size tableau scenes, and representations of the racial elements other than the Indian and the English which have figured in the background of American life.

The chairman indorsed the idea of life-size exhibits and directed attention to the considerable expense which they entail. He said that most museums which have installed such exhibits have met the costs through gifts received from wealthy men.

The meeting was then thrown open for general discussion and Judge Lorin Cray of Mankato told of the work of the Blue Earth County Historical Society, especially of its collection of material. The problem in Blue Earth County is twofold: to get a building or room in which to house the museum, and "to have the place kept up" after the exhibits have been installed. The speaker took up the question as to what kinds of objects should be eliminated from a museum and indicated that, in his opinion, it is of importance to build up comprehensive collections and that "it is better to have the room well filled even if there is a little 'junk' mixed in."

The chairman suggested, in reply to Judge Cray's question about "junk," that objects which possess no intrinsic historical interest but are preserved merely because of some association which gives them a sentimental interest may safely be considered museum "junk." As an example he told of a pebble picked up in a certain region where important historical events occurred. The pebble in question, which was later presented to a museum, obviously possessed historical interest only for the person who picked it up and preserved it. A similar view of museum "junk" was taken by Mrs. Frank M. Reese of Minneapolis, who humorously told of a slab of wood which had been called to her attention as an object of historical interest.

The last speaker was Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, who advocated the coördination of the educational facilities of the community. He predicted that eventually community buildings housing the high school, the public library, and the local museum will be common in the smaller towns. To illustrate the tremendous possibilities for assembling material for a local museum, the speaker told of a county centennial celebration in Edwardsville, Illinois, which he attended in 1912. One of the most interesting features of this celebration was a large collection of historical relics brought together at the high school. At least a part of this material should have formed the nucleus of a community museum, but unfortunately there was no one ready to take up the matter and the exhibits were dispersed.

At 12:30 P.M. about sixty-five members and friends of the society attended a luncheon at the St. Paul Athletic Club "to consider plans for the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the establishment of Minnesota Territory and the founding of the Minnesota Historical Society." After the luncheon was served the superintendent told of the various Minnesota seventy-fifth anniversaries which occur in 1924. St. Paul became the capital of Minnesota in 1849, the year in which the territory was established; the Minnesota Historical Society was founded in that year, and the establishment of the first newspaper printed in Minnesota occurred in the same year. The speaker urged the appropriateness of some celebration of the anniversaries of these events. He then introduced the toastmaster, Judge Cray. After speaking in a humorous vein of the old quarrel over the location of the capital of Minnesota, Judge Cray turned to the subject under consideration and expressed the opinion that one excellent way in which to celebrate the various anniversaries was to establish local historical societies throughout the state, either as independent units or as branches of the state society. The important thing is to

preserve the records of the past, many of which will almost certainly be lost if local societies are not formed. He spoke briefly of the work of the Blue Earth County Historical Society and then called upon Mrs. Ernest J. Stiefel of St. Paul to tell of the plans for a Ramsey County Historical Society.

Mrs. Stiefel told of the movement sponsored by the Fourth District Federation of Women's Clubs for the formation of a local historical society in Ramsey County. She said that it seemed very fitting to form such an organization in the year which marks the seventy-fifth anniversary of the selection of St. Paul as the capital. To illustrate the point that St. Paul has a "history worth preserving" she told a number of interesting historical facts about the city. She then contrasted the situation in Minnesota with that in the state of Massachusetts as regards local historical societies and said that the time has come for communities in Minnesota to follow the example of eastern communities by organizing numerous local historical societies, marking more historic sites, and thus forwarding the historical interests of the state. She said that excellent beginnings had been made in Minnesota and called special attention to the organization of local history activity in St. Louis and Blue Earth counties. The situation in Ramsey County clearly calls for a local history organization and she indicated that such a society would soon be formed. [1]

The toastmaster then introduced Mr. Herbert R. Galt, managing editor of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* who said that this newspaper is greatly interested in the celebration of the important anniversaries of 1924 not only because of its own relation to the events of 1849 but also because it desires to help in forwarding "the dissemination of the proper appreciation of history by the people." The speaker called attention to the fact that the people of the present day can learn a great deal from the past and he scored the view that history is

[1] See *post,* p. 471.

"bunk." He said that one of the disquieting tendencies of modern life is to disregard the obligation of the present to the past. "There is more interest," he said, "in contracting debts for the future than in discharging debts of the past."

Mr. Victor Lawson, editor of the *Willmar Tribune,* who spoke next, first told of the nearly successful movement to establish the capital of Minnesota in Kandiyohi County. He then indorsed the idea of a celebration of the anniversaries of the year. In this connection he expressed the hope that the work of the Minnesota Historical Society would become more widely known throughout the state.

The situation in Renville County was discussed briefly by the next speaker, Mrs. Michael J. Dowling of Olivia. The establishment of Fort Ridgely State Park was mentioned as a notable development in the forwarding of historical interest in the county and the speaker said that the project of a county historical museum, to be housed in a log cabin, was receiving serious consideration.

Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, dean of the graduate school of the University of Minnesota, then spoke briefly on the importance of a definite articulation with the past and contrasted the situation in America with that in Europe, taking as an example land ownership in France where a great many families have held the same piece of land for over a hundred years, some for two hundred years, and a few for even four hundred or five hundred years. The last seventy-five years in Minnesota history have naturally witnessed changes which have proceeded at a rapid rate. Historical work in the Mississippi Valley is of great importance not only because of the remarkable record of achievement in this region, but also because the valley is in the strategic position in the country. The great social and economic policies of the nation will be worked out in the Mississippi Valley. Since the United States occupies a "key position" in the world, the story of the valley will thus have world importance.

Mr. George Martin of Minneapolis, vice-president of the Great Northern Railway Company, then spoke of the value of local history work, calling special attention to the possibilities in Dodge County. He emphasized the importance of collecting historical records "before it is too late," and expressed the view that local societies could do a great deal to preserve "the remains and recollections which might otherwise be lost forever."

The final speaker at the luncheon conference was the Honorable Gideon S. Ives of St. Paul. He first gave an interesting résumé of the rivalry between St. Paul and St. Peter as possible capital sites. He then took up the question of advancing the historical interests of the state and said that the members of the Minnesota Historical Society should make every effort to raise the society's membership from one thousand, where it stood at the beginning of 1923, to two thousand.

About sixty persons attended the afternoon session, which convened at 3:00 P.M. in the auditorium of the Historical Building, with Dr. William W. Folwell, vice president of the society, presiding. Before the three historical papers scheduled for this session were read, the annual reports of the treasurer and the superintendent were presented and the following thirty life members of the society were elected to serve as members of the executive council for the triennium 1924–27: Everett H. Bailey, John M. Bradford, Reverend William Busch, William W. Cutler, Frederic A. Fogg, Mrs. Charles E. Furness, Harold Harris, Frederick G. Ingersoll, Gideon S. Ives, William H. Lightner, James M. McConnell, Victor Robertson, Edward P. Sanborn, Charles Stees, Warren Upham, Olin D. Wheeler, and Edward B. Young of St. Paul; Solon J. Buck, William W. Folwell, Guy S. Ford, Herschel V. Jones, Mrs. James T. Morris, and Lester B. Shippee of Minneapolis; William A. McGonagle and Jed L. Washburn of Duluth; Lorin Cray of Mankato; Burt W. Eaton of Rochester; Victor E. Lawson of Willmar; Olai A. Lende of

Canby; and John R. Swann of Madison. The new executive council, which includes six state officers, ex officio, in addition to the members elected, later met in the superintendent's office and elected the following officers of the society for the triennium: William W. Folwell, president; Frederick G. Ingersoll, first vice president; Edward P. Sanborn, second vice president; Solon J. Buck, secretary; and Everett H. Bailey, treasurer.

The first historical paper of the afternoon program, a study of "Some Red River Fur-trade Activities," by Mr. John P. Pritchett, assistant professor of history at Macalester College, St. Paul, is printed in the present number of the BULLETIN. Dr. Clarence W. Rife, associate professor of history at Hamline University, St. Paul, read a paper on "A Fur-trader at Pembina, Norman W. Kittson." He characterized Kittson as an important figure in early Minnesota who in his activities touched the life of the state at many vital spots: as fur-trader and protector of American interests on the northern frontier, as territorial legislator and mayor of St. Paul, as "commodore" of a line of steamboats on the Red River of the North, and as railroad promoter in association with James J. Hill.

Kittson was born at Sorel in Lower Canada in 1814. His grandfather Kittson had served as one of Wolfe's officers at the siege of Quebec and his grandmother, after her husband's untimely death, had married Alexander Henry, the great explorer. At the age of sixteen Norman Kittson became apprenticed to the American Fur Company for three years and started with a band of *voyageurs* for the West. At Mackinac, said Dr. Rife, began an acquaintance with another clerk of the company, Henry H. Sibley, which was destined to ripen into firm friendship and close business association. For several years, however, the two saw little of each other. Meanwhile Sibley became agent at Mendota for the American Fur Company, with supervision over a large area. In 1843 the two formed a partnership, under the company, for trading

on the upper Mississippi and the Red River of the North, and Kittson took charge of the outfit. For eleven years, from 1843 to 1854, Kittson spent most of his time on the frontier. "Making his headquarters at Pembina, and opening up smaller trading posts along the boundary, he proved a thorn in the side of the Hudson's Bay Company, which hitherto had drawn large supplies of furs from American territory." The company attempted to eliminate Kittson, said Dr. Rife, "by sending a rival trader to oppose him, by the use of liquor in the Indian trade, and by raising the price of furs to a ruinously high figure." This keen competition inevitably lowered profits for the rivals. During certain years Kittson operated at a loss, and his profits, taken over a term of years, were far from large. The fur trade was then on the decline.

Dr. Rife then described some of the conditions of the trade. With headquarters so far removed from the base of supply at Mendota Kittson had a formidable transportation problem. In June he loaded his furs, robes, and pemmican in Red River carts and started south. At Traverse des Sioux the cart trip ended and supplies of goods for the ensuing season's trade, brought thither by steamer from Mendota, were loaded for the homeward journey. Sometimes danger was apprehended from hostile Sioux but Kittson was favorably known and respected by the Indians and suffered no interference. The round trip took about two months.

In concluding his paper, Dr. Rife briefly summarized the later stages of Kittson's career. In 1851 Kittson was elected to the territorial council and he served during four sessions. He and the two house members from Pembina traveled to St. Paul in the depth of winter by dog train, making a distance of thirty-five miles a day if the roads were fairly good. They usually had to leave during the session in order to get home before the roads became impassable. Kittson severed active connection with frontier life in 1856 and removed to St. Paul. There various business activities occupied his attention and

in 1858 he was mayor of the city. During the sixties he acted as agent at St. Paul for his old rival, the Hudson's Bay Company, and established the Red River Transportation Company to ply between Breckenridge and Winnipeg. In the late seventies and eighties his association with James J. Hill in railroad enterprises added both to his prestige and to his fortune. He died in 1888.

The last paper of the session was on "Minnesota History as a Background for Fiction," by Mr. Roe Chase, editor of the *Anoka Herald.* Mr. Chase himself was unable to be present and his paper was read for him by Miss Livia Appel, research assistant on the society's staff. The paper contained a strong plea for the use of the Minnesota background in fiction. Attention was drawn to many writers who have written of other states with notable success and the questions were asked: why has no gifted writer of fiction drawn upon the rich materials which Minnesota history and geography afford? Why has no hero of fiction been led in the footsteps of the Minnesota explorers? Why has the epic of the iron mines never been written? "The traditional enmity between the Ojibway and Sioux, the diary of Lawrence Taliaferro, the Calumet Cliffs at Pipestone, the unholy warfare among the fur companies, the building of Fort Snelling, the flour mills, the frightful Indian massacres of 1862, the lore of Rum River, the story of the Pembina trail, the Red River carts and the *bois brulé,* — all these furnish a wonderful background for either pure fiction of the most fascinating sort or for historical romance of even greater and more lasting value." Among other themes and places which should stir the imagination of writers Mr. Chase mentioned the Sibley House at Mendota, the Godfrey House in old St. Anthony, Carver's Cave, the Lake of the Woods, the round tower at Fort Snelling, the trail to Fort Charlotte, and the huts at Pembina. The political history of the state offers material for stories of a type very popular just now. The story of the forests remains unwritten.

That the state offers very attractive possibilities to the writer is undeniable, in Mr. Chase's opinion. To solve the practical problem of stimulating the production of books which have Minnesota backgrounds, Mr. Chase suggested that the Ten Thousand Lakes Association set up a generous annual prize for the best manuscript using the state as a background and that the association coöperate with the publisher of the winning manuscript. The result, he said, would be not only the cultivation of the attractive field of Minnesota but also an honorable and exceedingly effective advertising of the state.

At the conclusion of the afternoon session there was a tour of the museum, conducted by the curator, Mr. Babcock. Much interest was shown in a special exhibit illustrating early conditions in Minnesota, including a " pioneer fireside " and a group of drawings of Indians and Indian life as observed between 1856 and 1860 by the German artist, Franz Hölzlhuber.

The seventy-fifth annual meeting came to a close with the evening session, held in the House Chamber of the State Capitol. The annual address, given by Governor Jacob A. O. Preus on " Knute Nelson " before an audience of about two hundred persons, is printed in full in the February number of the BULLETIN.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ST. LOUIS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Attention was called in the BULLETIN for February, 1923 (see *ante,* p. 79), to the organization of the St. Louis County Historical Society and from time to time mention has been made in these pages of the activities of this new institution (see *ante,* p. 157, 242, 321, 393). The constitution of the society provides that an annual report is to be made to the Minnesota Historical Society. It is believed that portions of the first annual report submitted to the state society under this rule are of sufficient general interest to merit publication here. Local history activity is on the increase throughout the state and the following concrete statement of the achievements of one society will be useful to local history leaders in many communities. The exhibits and tables which accompany Mr. Culkin's report are here omitted.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ST. LOUIS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 5, 1923

On November 25, 1922, this society was organized and adopted its constitution. Pursuant to adjournment it met on December 1, 1922, and the following persons were chosen to office for the year ending on the first Monday in January, 1924: William E. Culkin, president; W. A. McGonagle, Mrs. Julia M. Barnes, and A. E. Bickford, vice presidents; J. D. Mahoney, treasurer; and Mrs. Addie M. Mauseau, secretary. The board of governors consisted of Edward C. Congdon and W. C. Sargent of Duluth, J. C. Poole of Eveleth, Peter Schaefer of Ely, W. N. Tappan of Hibbing, and the president and vice presidents. Later Alice Lindquist was made assistant to the secretary for the reason that Mrs. Mauseau could not give her time to the work of the society at its headquarters.

Meetings

The society, pursuant to its rules, has held regular program meetings during this year on January 2, March 5, and May 31, all at Duluth, and also an annual summer convention extending over two days at Virginia on August 6 and 7. Another program meeting is to be held in Duluth on Thursday, November 22, at Memorial Hall in the evening.

These program meetings were not largely attended, as is usual with historical meetings, but the attendance was far more than fair. About twenty-five papers were presented dealing with all phases of historical affairs. The papers are preserved in the files of the society and cross-indexed in the manner hereinafter to be referred to.

In addition to program meetings there were several business meetings of the society like this one on November 5, at which this report is presented. There were also meetings of the board of governors and there will be at least one other meeting of the board during this year 1923.

Membership

The society now has on its rolls 108 members. Citizens have not been over-active to affiliate, but none the less they are quite universally in agreement with the aims and work of the society. It takes some pressure to get action because people, as a rule, are otherwise preoccupied. No doubt the membership will grow in a healthy way in the future. Dues are one dollar a year for regular members and fifteen dollars for life members. There are eight of the latter. It should be added that the personnel of the society is excellent. With the new year a move for new members should be inaugurated. Perhaps this is as good a place as any to say that the daily and weekly newspapers of the county are strong supporters of the society. They give agreeable publicity from time to time to its programs and its work.

Finances

When this society was organized its only source of revenue was the dues paid by its members. This was a small sum. But under the direction of the board of governors the society pooled

its expenses with the St. Louis County branch of the Minnesota War Records Commission, in reference to clerical work. The headquarters of this society were the headquarters of said commission. The clerk, or assistant to the secretary, is the clerk of both organizations. As their work is along the same lines there is no clash. This arrangement is good only for 1923, as at the end of this year the commission will be out of funds under the laws. The legislature of Minnesota for 1923 passed a law permitting St. Louis County to aid this society to the extent of twenty-five hundred dollars a year. The board of governors, represented by Mr. W. A. McGonagle, the Honorable W. A. Cant, and the executive, applied for aid to the county commissioners under the act referred to and the sum of sixteen hundred dollars was granted by the county for the balance of the year. About one-third of this sum was taken from the appropriation for the war records commission, it being estimated that it would not be needed.

After June 1, 1923, the executive, who works each afternoon at the headquarters of this society on historical work, received a regular salary from the society, by arrangement with the board of governors. The office is always open and historical work and planning have been and are proceeding daily. There have been other expenses, such as postage, stationery, outside copying, filing cases, historical books from the state society, personal expense of the executive, expense attendant on meetings, expense of state society officers at local meetings, and the like. But the funds have been administered with economy, and not only is the society free from debt, but its funds will be ample for the rest of this year. Any part of the county fund for any year not used reverts to the county and is lost to the society. Thus the society has two funds to use: first, the one in the hands of its own treasurer arising from dues or any outside contributions, and the other the public appropriation. Therefore, the writer has prepared two cash accounts; one showing the condition of its own treasury from the secretary's books, and the other showing the condition of the fund appropriated by the county. For the year 1924 the county commissioners have allowed in their advance budget for this society twenty-five hundred dollars. Thus for 1924 there

will be available at least twenty-eight hundred dollars, which will be sufficient to carry on the work of the society on the basis now existing. If these sources should dry up, other sources of revenue must be opened. But this is not likely to be necessary.

Historical Records and Historical Bookkeeping

Proper bookkeeping for any historical society is essential. The mere accumulation of any kind of written or printed documents, without useful classification, is not of very much immediate practical value. Such an accumulation without order might be of value to one or two persons who are very familiar with it, but all historical societies should have systems of indexing and bookkeeping so that their collections may be accessible on every subject possible. With these thoughts in mind the society is going forward and so planning its record.

The first important record is the general record book of the society. It is made up of reënforced pages carried in a loose-leaf cover. It has the records of preliminary meetings of the society, minutes of such meetings and of the board of governors, the constitution of the society, all the by-laws, list of members, legislative enactments, copies of important blanks, and other items. All these are arranged in order of time, so that a person reading this book would have before him the entire history of the society. This book is kept up.

A cash account is kept by the secretary, and shows clearly all items received and how paid out in regard to the private funds of the society. The public appropriation always remains in the possession of the county except as used. The society keeps duplicate copies of all bills against such funds, so that its financial standing is easily ascertainable at any time. There is also a secretarial account kept now by the secretary's assistant. What has just been said applies to the common routine of business.

But the important thing is historical bookkeeping. From the beginning the writer has been impressed with the thought that historical records were worthless to a great extent unless available, and his aim, therefore, is to make all records of value and accessible to those who seek them. He has invented a method of historical bookkeeping, which he has called by the name "The

St. Louis County Method of Historical Bookkeeping by Quadruple Entry." Under this system of bookkeeping historical events, documents, persons, and times are indexed, and by a system of cross-indexing any one who seeks any particular matter is led by what he knows to any knowledge on the matter inquired about in the possession of the society. If the inquirer knows only a year, or the name of a person, or a development, or an accession, he will find that item indexed and thus be led to a large field of relevant material.

This plan has been started in eight steel cases at headquarters. It begins to work well. The writer has submitted the plan to the state historical society recently and it is considering its advisability. At first it would seem that the plan would be difficult, but this is not the case. It is very easily kept up. It is, of course, much more difficult to go back in years and apply the system, but the writer thinks this a mere matter of time and labor. The society has a supply of stationery, printed receipts for members, certificates for life members, and other supplies used in inviting membership.

Accessions

The first branch of the local plan of historical work covers what is known as accessions. These are important papers, books, documents, or things, donated, purchased, or in any way received, under the control of the society. The accessions to date touch upon every subject of historical interest, and most of them are from high authority.

It is unpleasant to select any one of these accessions for illustration in this report, as there are so many of high merit. But accession number 44 may be first referred to. This is the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society in twenty-one bound volumes. The local society was able to purchase all these books from the state society for the total sum of thirty-one dollars. In fact a large number of them were donated along with the purchase of a few which were very rare and out of print. It is remarkable how much of interest about St. Louis County may be found in these twenty-one volumes. It is the intention of the society to make a careful examination of them and have proper references made to St. Louis County matter.

To illustrate this point it may be said that volume 5 of these collections, which contains the "History of the Ojibways," by William W. Warren, is made up almost exclusively of northern Minnesota matter, especially of interest to St. Louis County students.

Accession number 22 consists of the diaries and papers of the Reverend Edmund F. Ely, loaned by Mrs. Mary L. Ely of Eveleth. The opinion of the writer is that this group of papers is, taken all in all, the most valuable that exists in the state of Minnesota. It covers every field of activity from 1830 down to 1860 in this region. The papers are very illuminating and this society has copied them all excepting a few which cannot be copied. Thus this deposit becomes useful to the future historian.

Special Fields of Work

The society is preparing historical work and the following things should be borne in mind:

The headquarters of the society are always open and constitute an historical center for the people in the county. An interest in historical work is being gradually awakened.

The society sends copies of its papers to teachers in the public schools who ask for them, and in this way strives to awaken activity in the schools in this field. This is also the practice of the state society.

The society is preparing a map of the Old Vermilion Trail which is now practically complete.

It is preparing also an Indian map of the county, which will restore all the old Indian place names.

It is laying a foundation for histories of the fur trade, city building, early discoveries, and mining in the county.

It has begun the selection of papers and documents for the future documentary history of St. Louis County.

In short, it strives to do all historical work which may come to its hands in reference to St. Louis County.

Publications

There is necessity for the publication of some of the documents collected. Nothing of this sort has been done and there are no means available for such purposes. This is not so important just

now because full publicity is given to all the important records and discoveries of the society in the papers of the county.

But publication seems necessary and, when our work has reached a certain ripeness of development, publication will be essential. It need not be expensive.

At our various meetings a large number of excellent papers have been presented on historical subjects. The state society wishes some of them for its own publications and, of course, this society is ready to furnish them to it for that purpose. But the value placed upon our papers by the state society indicates to us, if nothing else does, the necessity on our part to use the printing press to perpetuate the historical writings in our possession.

CONCLUSION

The society should labor on. The simple plan of its organization is working well. True, it proceeds slowly, but then such is the nature of its work. A little well done every day soon mounts up in achievement. The ideals of the society are high. Its methods must be scientific. It is pleasant to add that it has had the full and kindly support of the state historical society in its work. Its accumulation of material bearing on local history not available locally is at our service. The state society has sent us copies of valuable documents at nominal expense. The superintendent of that society, Mr. Solon J. Buck, and his corps of assistants spare no pains to forward our work. For our part we do not fail to fully reciprocate its good will.

WILLIAM E. CULKIN, President

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Iowa Chronicles of the World War. Edited by BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH. *Welfare Campaigns in Iowa.* By MARCUS L. HANSEN. (xiv, 320 p.) *Welfare Work in Iowa.* By MARCUS L. HANSEN. (xv, 321 p.) *The Red Cross in Iowa.* By EARL W. FULLBROOK. In two volumes. (xvi, 269, xii, 269 p.) *The Food Administration in Iowa.* By IVAN L. POLLOCK. In two volumes. (xvi, 235, xvi, 239 p.) (Iowa City, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1920–23.)

Under the happily chosen title, *Iowa Chronicles of the World War,* the State Historical Society of Iowa is producing a series of volumes, now six in number, which in both content and appearance are bound to serve as an inspiration to and, in many respects, as a model for historians of the same period in other states.

The first two volumes issued deal with the activities in Iowa of the seven officially recognized welfare organizations — the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Salvation Army, the American Library Association, and the War Camp Community Service. In one volume is told the story of the various fund-raising campaigns carried on by these agencies, at first independently of one another, then by groups, and finally through the combined effort known as the United War Work Campaign. The second volume describes the work of these and of minor welfare agencies in and about the army training centers in Iowa and in the state at large. Of particular interest to Minnesota and other states of the Middle West, thousands of whose sons received their preliminary military training in Iowa, is an extended account, comprising over half the book, of the welfare work carried on at Camp Dodge and at Fort Des Moines.

The story of the Red Cross is told in two volumes, so divided for the sake of substantial uniformity in the size and appearance of the volumes of the series. In general the first volume deals with the organization, recruiting, and financing of the Red Cross in Iowa; the second with the activities of the Iowa organization in

the preparation of hospital supplies and of knitted articles, in the enrollment and training of nurses, in the maintenance of canteens, in the care of soldiers' dependents, and in the many other ways whereby the Red Cross contributed to the relief and comfort of the service men. In the volumes on the Food Administration are described the efforts put forth for the conservation of food and food products through the voluntary coöperation of the people and through enforcement of the food regulations.

One reason for the comparatively early appearance of these volumes — other states are far behind in the matter of publications of this kind — lies in the fact that the editor of the series has aimed primarily not at the concentration and preservation of all available records of the period, a tremendous task in itself, but rather at the prompt acquisition and publication of such data as might prove essential to a broad understanding of Iowa's part in the war. This choice of ends has its disadvantages from the point of view of students and writers in search of more detailed information than that to be found in a general history. The published accounts, however, are undoubtedly the richer and the better articulated for having been prepared at a time when it was possible not only to consult the more important written and printed sources but to elicit much vital information obtainable only from leaders and participants in the activities described.

The choice of subjects and methods of treatment reflect the new interests and purposes which are coming to characterize the writing of local war history. The unprecedented extent, variety, and effectiveness of civilian war activities during the recent conflict, together with a broadening conception of the scope of history, has brought the civilian war worker into the picture, and in this case, he — meaning she, of course, as well — is being sketched in first lest his image be blurred or forgotten through absorption in the more romantic figure of the soldier. Nor is his delineation intended solely as a memorial of great things accomplished, for his war-time experiences are applicable "to the social needs of peace times," as one of the writers puts it, and it is for the purpose of drawing lessons for the future as well as of perpetuating the memories of past accomplishments that these volumes have been written.

The writers have achieved a praiseworthy detachment from war-time passions and prejudices and from considerations of local pride. Their stories breathe the spirit of the times, but propaganda appears plainly as such and is not allowed to obscure the actual course of events. Nothing was accomplished by magic in Iowa or elsewhere and the magnitude of the state's achievements is enhanced rather than diminished by a frank exposition of the difficulties which had to be overcome and of the gradual development of ways and means to surmount them. No space is wasted on fulsome praise of individuals, organizations, or localities, and comparisons with other states are not always flattering to Iowa.

The accounts excel also in breadth and proportion. Activities known to earlier times of stress are given their appropriate historical settings and all activities, old and new, are presented against the background of the national movements of which they were parts. The story of the Red Cross, for example, outlines the history of the Red Cross movement from the beginning to the World War, describes briefly the war-time organization and purposes of the American Red Cross, and then recounts at length the work of the Red Cross in Iowa with frequent reference to the work and plans of the larger administrative units of the organization. On the other hand, in dealing with local activities the writers have succeeded admirably in the difficult task of holding to the point of view of the state as a whole, citing local instances only as illustrative of developments throughout the state. The story in each case is carried forward with a minimum of interruption or digression. Statistics are presented as simply and unobtrusively as possible and lists of names showing organization personnel, as well as notes and references, are relegated to appendixes. An adequate index is provided for each work.

Before leaving the subject the reviewer's principal proclivity, the picking of flaws, must of course be indulged. Perhaps it is not of great consequence that the prewar history of the Red Cross movement tapers at the wrong end, dealing rather fully with the earlier stages of development and passing over with the barest mention the period of the Spanish-American War, when presumably the movement found some expression in Iowa. Again, one wonders why the state and county personnel of the Food

Administration is given and that of the Red Cross and the seven welfare organizations is not. Finally, it may or may not serve a useful purpose to note that division of the subject matter according to organizations in the case of the account of the Food Administration has resulted in the separation of two activities which were identical in purpose — conservation of food and increased production. In other words the account of the Food Administration deals primarily with conservation, since this was the chief direct concern of that organization, and presumably a forthcoming volume or volumes will deal with production as encouraged under the leadership of the department of agriculture, the Iowa State College of Agriculture at Ames, and the county agents. Each agency had a part in the attainment of both ends, and there is a blurring of the vision as regards their accomplishment which might have been avoided by subordinating the instrumentalities to the ends and by treating the food program as a unit. It is believed that a predominantly topical treatment would not to the same degree have obscured the workings of the organizations as such and that it would have involved less duplication of subject matter. But any classification would have left something to be desired, and the Iowa plan, though perhaps open to question at the point indicated, is the only one that has as yet in any considerable degree been put to a practical test.

FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK

Das illustrirte Mississippithal dargestellt in 80 nach der Natur aufgenommenen Ansichten vom Wasserfalle zu St. Anthony an bis zum Golf von Mexico (*Reprints of Rare Americana,* no. 3). By H. LEWIS, Landschaftsmaler aus St. Louis, in Missouri, and GEORGE B. DOUGLAS. With an introduction by J. CHRISTIAN BAY. (Leipzig, H. Schmidt and C. Günther; Florence, Otto Lange, 1923. xii, 431 p. Illustrations.)

The origin of this rare book on the Mississippi Valley goes back to the interest of our ancestors in the panoramic canvas. In the forties and fifties photography was in its pioneer stage and the cinema was of course unknown. Moving pictures of a sort were made available, nevertheless. Enormous painted canvases, some of them more than a thousand yards in length, were un-

rolled before audiences glad to pay generously for the privilege of viewing such panoramic spectacles.

Henry Lewis, a St. Louis artist of English birth, designed and executed a panorama of the Mississippi from Fort Snelling to the gulf. As early as the spring of 1846 he ascended the river to Fort Snelling and drifted down its course making sketches of scenes along the way. The following summer he covered the lower course of the river and in 1848 he came up to Fort Snelling and floated down the entire river. Using his sketches as a basis for his work, he began to paint the panorama itself. It was completed in September, 1849, a canvas 1,325 yards in length, and it was exhibited with considerable success in the larger cities of the country. Its creator then took it to Europe, going first to England and then to Germany, where he settled in Düsseldorf. Tradition has it that the gigantic canvas was bought by an Englishman and carried off to India.

Lewis retained the original sketches and used them as the basis for a book on the Mississippi Valley which was published at Düsseldorf in twenty parts between 1854 and 1857. The most interesting feature of the work is a series of seventy-eight illustrated plates, magnificent reproductions in colors of the artist's originals. The book has become exceedingly rare. In fact, Mr. J. Christian Bay, who contributes an illuminating preface to the reprint edition, asserts that less than twenty copies of it are known to exist in American libraries. The rarity and the interest of the work have led a European publisher to issue a new edition of it.

In passing, the reviewer calls attention to the fact that the Minnesota Historical Society possesses a copy of the original. This copy raises an interesting bibliographical problem, for its title page differs in some particulars from the title page reproduced in the reprint. According to Mr. Bay, the text of the book was first written in English by George B. Douglas, who accompanied Lewis on his journeys in 1846 and 1847, and was then translated into German. The copy of the book used in making the reprint appears to support Mr. Bay's assertion, for after the main title and the name of H. Lewis there appears the following: "Nebst einer historischen und geographischen Beschreibung der den Fluss begränzenden Länder, mit besonderer

Rücksicht auf die verschiedenen den obern Mississippi bewohnenden Indianerstämme. (Deutsch und englisch.) Von George B. Douglas." But on the title page of the original in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society the German phrase quoted above, minus the three words in parentheses, appears above the name of H. Lewis, and the following line is printed below it: "Nach dem engl. Original-Text von H. Lewis deutsch bearbeitet von George B. Douglas." One is justified in asking, therefore, whether Lewis or Douglas wrote the text of the book. Certainly the title page of the Minnesota Historical Society's copy clearly states that the original English text was written by H. Lewis and that the German translation was done by George B. Douglas.

The Minnesota interest of the volume lies in a series of some fifteen pictures of Minnesota scenes in the forties. Interesting short descriptive accounts accompany the plates and there are some sections of the text — for example, on Fountain Cave, Carver's Cave, and Indian music and poetry — which are not illustrated. Among the subjects of the paintings which are reproduced are Fort Snelling, St. Anthony and Minnehaha falls, St. Paul, Kaposia ("Klein Rabendorf"), and Red Wing Village. The reprint is a notable piece of book-making of interest generally to students of the history of the Mississippi Valley.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

A Detailed Account of the Massacre by the Dakota Indians of Minnesota in 1862. By MARION P. SATTERLEE. (Minneapolis, the author, [1923]. iv, 128 p.)

The most tragic and alarming chapter in all our state history was the Dakota or Sioux Massacre and war in 1862. Having come to southern Minnesota at the age of six years with his parents about a year after this outbreak, the author of this book became familiar in his boyhood with narrations of the terrible Indian massacre which resulted in the flight of all surviving settlers from the Minnesota Valley above New Ulm and from the large region of the new state farther southwest. During twelve years, from 1895 to 1907, he was the founder and editor of newspapers in Atwater and Annandale near the northeast border of the great district that was thus temporarily depopulated.

Through more than twenty years Mr. Satterlee has diligently gathered records of the victims in the massacre and in ensuing scattered murders by marauding Sioux. "The principal aim of this work is to identify each victim, and give particulars as to location, manner and time of the death."

In four preliminary lists issued between 1914 and 1919 the progress of his researches has been presented, until now in the present book the compilation is believed to comprise all who lost their lives in the Sioux Massacre and murders. Shortly after the outbreak, before the execution of thirty-eight Sioux at Mankato on December 26, 1862, it was estimated by Agent Thomas F. Galbraith, by President Lincoln, and by others, that "about eight hundred men, women, and children, were massacred within a few days." This estimate has been repeated up to 1921 in the successive biennial issues of the *Legislative Manual*. But the lists carefully gathered by Mr. Satterlee are summarized on page 124 as follows: Citizens, including not only men but also women and children, who were killed or died from injuries, 413; enlisted soldiers killed in 1862 and others killed in the expeditions of 1863–65 against the Sioux in Dakota, 77; total number of white people killed, 490; "Indians killed, hung or died," 71; Indians imprisoned, 277.

This publication has very high historical value for its definite enumeration and list of names of the massacre victims; for its list of the 107 white prisoners surrendered at Camp Release on September 26, 1862; for the list of 177 Indians pardoned at Davenport, Iowa, on January 20, 1866 ; for a list of refugees at Fort Ridgely taken from records of the state adjutant general; and for other similar material. Short narratives are supplied by Samuel J. Brown of the final battle in 1862 at Wood Lake and of the capture of the family of his father, Joseph R. Brown; and by James B. Lamson of the death of the Sioux chief, Little Crow, who was killed by his father, Nathan Lamson, and his brother Chauncey, near Hutchinson on July 3, 1863. The latter article has been included by Mr. Satterlee in "Narratives of the Sioux War," published in volume 15 of the *Minnesota Historical Collections*.

A roster of a volunteer cavalry company from St. Anthony and Minneapolis, numbering ninety men, which was organized

under command of Anson Northup (whose name is here misspelled Northrup), is given on pages 121–123. This company joined some regular troops under Colonel Samuel McPhail at St. Peter, made an all-night ride, and reached Fort Ridgely in the early morning of August 27. When the volunteers found, however, that the Sioux had failed to capture either the fort or New Ulm they soon returned home, with the exception of two members who enlisted in the United States service against the Sioux. One of these men was killed and the other was mortally wounded five days later in the battle of Birch Coulee.

WARREN UPHAM

The Story of Duluth, Its Settlement, Growth, and Possibilities. Prepared by Fourth Grade Teachers of Duluth, Minnesota. (Duluth, The Board of Education, 1923. ix, 145 p. Illustrations, maps.)

In the public schools of Duluth provision is made for the study of the geography and history of the city. The teachers of the fourth grade, faced with the problem of assembling information for such a course, decided to prepare a book on the subject. The method of its preparation is explained by the editor, Mary Dabney Davis, who writes in the introduction:

> The teachers organized themselves into committees to study the following topics: the history of Duluth, the geography of Duluth, its industries, its transportation facilities, its points of interest, and its government.
>
> The first idea was to gather bare facts and to ask the teachers to assemble and organize the material. After the work had been started, it became evident that more of a contribution would be made if these facts could be put into interesting form, presenting the founding and growth of our city, with intimate glimpses into its problems of growth. It was found that this contribution would be of interest to the citizens of Duluth, as well as an assistance to the school work. The book aims to be a help in vitalizing the school curriculum. Statistics of various kinds have been used to stimulate actual arithmetic problems, and every effort made to relate Duluth to the world at large. The committee met many times, submitting material to the chairmen and reporting on visits to the Chamber of Commerce, to civic and industrial organizations, to city officials, and to citizens who have an intimate knowledge of the city's development. They also reported on research among the files of old newspapers, old circulars, old photographs, and recorded speeches.

The result of this admirable coöperative enterprise is a handsome illustrated volume which presents an interesting, well-organized, and thoroughly useful account of Duluth. The book is a compliment to the professional spirit of the teachers who prepared it. Not only have they assembled in compact form a mass of data which will be of service to the public schools of Duluth, to people of that city generally, and to students of Minnesota, but they also have undergone a training which will be of immeasurable service to themselves as teachers and they have furnished a model for other communities in the state confronted by similar problems. It is to be hoped that teachers in other cities will profit by the example of Duluth. Such projects promise not only increased vitalization of history teaching but also the advancement of the general historical interests of Minnesota.

The book under review opens with a chapter on the history of Duluth in which some account is given of the Indian background, the early explorers, especially Du Luth, the Fond du Lac trading post, the growth of Duluth town sites, and the general growth of the city to 1922. The chapter includes a list of twenty-two Duluth authors and poets with the titles of their books.

Two excellent chapters on the geography and the industries of Duluth follow. Considerable attention is given to the steel industry and the relation of the iron mines to Duluth. Chapter 4, the most informing in the book, deals comprehensively with transportation in its relation to the history of the city. Chapter 5 furnishes an admirable guide to the various points of interest in Duluth and in the final chapter the government of the city is analyzed. A bibliography of forty titles at the end of the book opens the way for further study. It should be noted that the book was composed and printed in the Manual Training High School print shop of Duluth.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The additions to the active membership during the three months ending March 31 numbered 78. The new members represent twenty counties of the state and three other states. The membership increases in Brown and Cottonwood counties are particularly notable and are explained by the activities of the representatives in those counties of the state-wide committee on membership (see *ante,* p. 370). This committee, since its appointment in December, has been instrumental in adding 54 names to the society's active membership. Considerably more than one-half of the new members for the quarter reported in the following list have joined the society as a result of the activities of the committee:

Anoka: Arthur L. Reed and O. E. Smith of Anoka.

Blue Earth: William P. Marston of Lake Crystal.

Brown: Otto Buenger, Robert Fesenmeier, John H. Forster, Henry Held, Rudolph R. Kemski, Rudolph Marti, William Muesing, Hugo O. Schleuder, Henry N. Somsen, Albert Steinhauser, E. A. Stoll, and Dr. Joseph H. Vogel, all of New Ulm.

Cottonwood: R. H. Jefferson of Bingham Lake and Jens Anderson, Adrian W. Annes, Dr. Henry C. Beise, Silas A. Brown, Willis J. Clark, William A. Cook, Ole J. Finstad, Michael L. Fisch, Edward E. Gillam, Ole M. Hammerstad, Henry E. Hanson, Frank L. Parso, Truman A. Perkins, Andrew A. Quevli, John J. Rupp, and Delbert U. Weld of Windom.

Faribault: Chris Carlson of Blue Earth.

Hennepin: Lee H. Abbey, Chilson D. Aldrich, George R. Martin, Mrs. Howard McI. Morton, and Dr. Horatio B. Sweetser, all of Minneapolis.

Houston: Reverend Alfred O. Johnson of Spring Grove.

Lac qui Parle: M. Alfred Larson, Oscar J. Larson, Mrs. Julius W. Smith, and Martin A. Stemsrud, all of Madison.

Lyon: Gunnar B. Björnson of Minneota.

Nicollet: Mrs. H. L. Stark of St. Peter.

Otter Tail: Casper W. Lotterer and Robert J. Scofield of Perham.

POLK: Mrs. M. M. Terrell of Maple Lake.

RAMSEY: Henry P. Barlow, Mrs. Henry P. Barlow, Asa G. Briggs, Edward P. Davis, Mrs. George T. O'Brien, and William J. Ryland, all of St. Paul.

RED LAKE: S. J. Bredeson and John P. Budzinski of Plummer.

RENVILLE: Harald T. Bordewich and Reverend Henry D. Pomeji of Olivia.

ST. LOUIS: Charles E. Lovett, Cotter Randall, and Reverend Thomas D. Whittles, all of Duluth.

STEELE: Minot J. Brown, Thomas E. Cashman, and E. K. Whiting, all of Owatonna.

WASECA: Charles H. Watson of Waseca.

WILKIN: Fred W. Johnson, Lewis E. Jones, Eugene W. Mangskau, Frank L. Pierce, Dr. Ernest W. Rimer, and Henry G. Wyvell, all of Breckenridge.

WINONA: Arnold M. Christenson, Karl Finkelnburg, Lester K. Kirk, and Clarence D. Tearse, all of Winona.

NONRESIDENT: John H. Hauberg of Rock Island, Illinois; Mrs. Theresa C. MacEwan of La Fayette, New York; and Alice Smith of New Richmond, Wisconsin.

One institutional member, the Minnesota Garden Flower Society, Mrs. Le Roy Cady, secretary, has been enrolled during the quarter.

The society lost six active members by death during the last quarter: Andrew G. Johnson of Minneapolis, January 10; Thomas B. Janney of Minneapolis, February 5; Frank M. Parcher of Hollywood, California, February 8; the Honorable Daniel Fish of Minneapolis, February 9; Edwin J. Bishop of St. Paul, February 14; and Lewis S. Gillette of Minneapolis, March 30. Charles H. Baker of Zellwood, Florida, a corresponding member, died on January 23; and the Honorable Woodrow Wilson of Washington, D. C., an honorary member, died on February 3.

The number of subscriptions to the society's publications from schools and public libraries has been increased to 141 by the addition of 18 institutions during the last quarter. These include public schools in Aitkin, Austin, Barnum, Blooming Prairie, Dawson, Glyndon, Hutchinson, Lake City, Long Lake, Maple Lake. Minneapolis (Central High School), Minneota, Monticello,

Pemberton, and Wayzata; the Luther Theological Seminary of St. Paul; and the Blake School of Minneapolis.

In an effort to forestall needless destruction of historical papers and relics, the society issued in the April number of the *Minnesota Historical News* the following appeal:

Now that it is house-cleaning time again and the annual attack on rubbish and dust is under way, the Minnesota Historical Society is reminding housekeepers that their dusty attics may contain historical treasures.

Don't throw your grandfather's old letters and account books into the bonfire. Those papers ought to be saved, for they tell of the struggles of some of the early settlers of our great state. Not long ago a St. Paul garret yielded up the account books of a Minnesota fur-trader, Norman W. Kittson.

That dusty little dog-eared notebook with the yellow pages and quaint writing? It is your grandfather's diary and tells a story that historians want to read. Send it to your state historical society in St. Paul.

Old handbills, pamphlets, books, maps, candlesticks, iron cooking untensils, china, brass kettles, Paul Revere lanterns, beaver hats, stamp albums, Indian relics, trunks filled with queer old objects, — such things as these are not rubbish. They are attic treasures and they should not fall victims to the great spring crusade. The Minnesota Historical Society is attempting to build up a comprehensive collection of materials which will throw light upon conditions of life in the past of the state.

All records for the use made of the society's library during one quarter were broken by the record for January, February, and March. During this period 13,853 books and pamphlets were used in the main reading room, a slight increase over the service for the corresponding three months of 1923 and an increase of sixty-one per cent over the service for the corresponding quarter in 1922. More books were used in the society's library during the first quarter of 1924 than during the entire year of 1920, and in the month of March alone the book service exceeded that of the entire year of 1918.

No less than twenty speeches on historical subjects or on the work of the society have been given by members of the society's staff during the months of January, February, and March. The monthly series of talks given by representatives of the society at the Twin City radio station WLAG has been continued, but the January talk was omitted. Miss Livia Appel, research assistant, spoke in February on "Some Interesting Historic Sites in Minnesota," and in March the curator of the museum spoke on "Sioux

versus Chippewa: A Chapter in Early Minnesota History." On January 25 the superintendent addressed the organization meeting of the Ramsey County Historical Society (see *post*, p. 471), and on February 4 he gave a talk entitled "Introducing Minnesota" before the Engineers' Society of St. Paul. The work of the society was discussed by the assistant superintendent before the St. Paul Coöperative Club on January 22. On January 28 he spoke to the Men's Club of Grace English Lutheran Church in Minneapolis on "Old World Influences in Minnesota History," and the same lecture was given on the next evening to the Norwegian Society of Minneapolis. He gave a talk on "Abraham Lincoln and Foreign Opinion" at the KFEX broadcasting station, Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, on February 12, and an address on "Francis Parkman" at Hamline University on February 20. In February the society's curator of manuscripts lectured to a class of Hamline University students on "The Hague Conferences," using as the basis for the lecture the manuscripts of one of the American delegates to the first conference, now in the possession of the society. Nine illustrated talks were given during the quarter by the curator of the museum to visiting public school classes and on January 14 he read a paper on "The Indian of Today" at a meeting of the St. Paul chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Governor Preus has appointed the superintendent a member of a committee to receive funds for the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation in Minnesota. The other members of the committee are Mr. Thomas J. McDermott of St. Paul, chairman, and Mr. E. A. Purdy of Minneapolis. The chief object of the foundation is the preservation of Monticello, the famous home of Jefferson, as a national memorial; and the members of this committee will serve as Minnesota's representatives on the Board of Monticello Managers.

The presidential address of the superintendent, delivered at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Oklahoma City on March 29, 1923, and printed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June, 1923, under the title "The Progress and Possibilities of Mississippi Valley History," is reprinted in the recently issued *Chronicles of Oklahoma*

for June, 1923, the new quarterly magazine of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

An advance chapter entitled "The Sioux Outbreak of 1862" from the second volume of Dr. William W. Folwell's *History of Minnesota* is printed in the February and March numbers of the *Gopher-M,* a publication issued by the Minneapolis Athletic Club. In the March issue the editor asks, "Do you know anything about the history of Minnesota? When you ride along the highways can you tell your guests of the Indian battles which took place in certain localities? Do you know anything about the places where you drive on Sunday or during your summer vacation? . . . Minnesota is quite a place after all, as you will readily observe when you begin to dig into its history."

Members of the staff continue to give their support to the growing movement for the teaching of state and local history in the schools of Minnesota. Additional copies of the mimeographed syllabus of Minnesota history (see *ante,* p. 373) have been run off recently by the director of the teachers' training department of the Minneapolis schools. Requests for suggestions and material for use in teaching state and local history in the grades are constantly being received and answered by the society, and recently the assistant superintendent conferred with a number of grade teachers in South St. Paul with reference to a plan for the preparation by the teachers of a history of that city for use in its schools.

A hitherto unpublished letter from Stephen Sayre to George Washington dated at London on November 15, 1787, and now in the possession of the society was printed in full in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 22 in a Washington birthday article. The paper is from the society's collection of Washington manuscripts (see *ante,* p. 222) and it relates to the proposed new constitution of the United States.

At a meeting of the State Federation of Women's Clubs on February 21 members of the Fourth District Federation, with the assistance of the staff of the society's museum, staged in the auditorium of the Historical Building a little historical play entitled "The First Wapasha."

An exhibition of a sitting room and bedroom of the mid-Victorian period with furniture of the heavy walnut type has just been installed in the society's museum. Hair wreaths, chromos, and crayon portraits decorate the walls, a carved whatnot occupies its appointed place in one corner, and a fine patchwork quilt is spread over the poster bed. The entrance to the room is guarded by a splendid full-length mirror in a walnut frame.

The resignation of Miss Elizabeth K. Clark, the society's head cataloguer, effective January 31, has left a vacancy on the staff which has not yet been filled. Miss Clark had been with the society for two and a half years and left to accept the position of head cataloguer in the Kansas City Public Library.

Accessions

The work of calendaring material relating to the Northwest in the Washington archives, carried on by a group of coöperating historical agencies (see *ante,* p. 223), goes forward regularly. The important files of the Indian office have never been included in this work, however, for the reason that two of the coöperating institutions had already completed similar work on these files before the joint arrangement was made. One of these, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, secured both calendars and photostats of a large quantity of this material relating to the upper Mississippi country, and arrangements have been made for borrowing the calendars in order that copies may be made of such entries as are of Minnesota interest. Calendar cards for four letter books of the Michigan Indian superintendency for the years 1814 to 1823, which have already been received from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, are of Minnesota interest because the Minnesota region was under the jurisdiction of that superintendency. It is expected that ultimately the original files of the Indian office will be searched for additional material of Minnesota interest not included in the Wisconsin calendar.

Several new installments of calendar cards have been received from Miss Myrtle A. Cline, who is calendaring the papers of the American Fur Company for several mid-western historical organizations (see *ante,* p. 376). In all the society now has not

far from nine thousand calendar cards for letters received by the company. A considerable number of photostats made from original letters in the New York collection have also been received, including approximately 125 letters written during the period from 1834 to 1842 by Gabriel Franchere, who had supervision over much of the work of the American Fur Company in the Northwest.

The diary of Mrs. Edmund F. Ely for 1835 and 1836 has been borrowed for copying from the St. Louis County Historical Society and forms an interesting supplement to the diaries kept by her missionary husband which are mentioned in the February BULLETIN (see *ante,* p. 376). Most of Mrs. Ely's entries relate to her two small children; but life in the mission school also receives some attention, as Mrs. Ely assisted her husband in the school work.

Some years ago Dr. Andrew W. Williamson supplied Mrs. Julia Treadwell of St. Peter with a biographical sketch of his father, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, the well-known missionary to the Sioux. A copy of this sketch has now been presented to the society by Mrs. Treadwell.

"Crow Wing 3d June 1848" is the heading of a letter by John Evans, the geologist, written while on a Pacific railroad exploring expedition, and now presented to the society by Mr. David I. Bushnell of Washington.

Items of interest concerning life in Minneapolis in 1858 are preserved in two letters written by E. S. Beebe, who came to Minnesota in 1858 to regain his health. Some attention is given to prices, and the writer says that "nice new potatoes" are "15 cents per bushel, and will soon be down to 10 cents per bushel" and that cabbages command the exorbitant price of two cents per head and sweet corn is three cents per dozen ears. Copies of the letters have been loaned to the society by Professor Albert B. White of the University of Minnesota, a grandson of Mr. Beebe.

A copy of a letter dated at St. Johns, Red River, March 19, 1860, which describes a trip just completed to that place from Crow Wing via "Lake '44' or Detroit Lake" and Pembina, is a

gift from Mr. John K. West of Detroit. The letter was written by T. Thistlethwaite Smith, an English missionary on the way to Rupert's Land, and was addressed to the Reverend and Mrs. Ebenezer S. Peake, missionaries at Crow Wing, whom Smith had visited at their station. The original of the letter is in a collection of material relating to Becker County which has been turned over by Mr. West to the recently organized Becker County Historical Society.

A blue-print copy of a map of the trail followed by the Sibley expedition against the Sioux in 1863, prepared for the State Historical Society of North Dakota by R. B. Black and K. E. Wright under the direction of Dana Wright of Jamestown, North Dakota, has been presented to the society by the latter.

About one hundred and fifty Civil War letters written by John N. Henry of the Forty-ninth New York Volunteer Infantry to his wife at Forestville, New York, together with a few other family letters of earlier date, have been presented by Mr. Ulysses G. Herrick of Minneapolis.

In the February number of the *Minnesota Historical News,* the society's monthly press bulletin, an article entitled "Wanted: An Old Wooden Churn" was printed. This item was reproduced in many newspapers and as a result no less than fourteen offers of wooden churns for the society's museum were received. One excellent churn of the type desired has now been presented by Mr. and Mrs. Silas Mills of Truman through the courtesy of Mr. John Campbell. A picture of this churn appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for March 23.

Mrs. Edmund S. Houghtaling of St. Paul has added to the society's costume collection the complete wedding costume worn by her mother as a bride in 1850. The dress is made with the full hoop skirt, the narrow waist, and the sharp-pointed stomacher of that period. An elaborate coming-out gown of salmon-colored silk in the full basque style and a dressing jacket of darned net of 1884 are the gifts of Mrs. George M. Kenyon of St. Paul.

To the society's collection of objects illustrating military history have recently been added two gifts from Mrs. A. R. McGill of

St. Paul: the uniform coat worn by her son Captain Wilson McGill during the World War, and the blue uniform overcoat worn by Captain Charles H. McGill in the Spanish-American War.

A splendid specimen of a native copper spearhead, some nine inches long, which was found near Onamia in January, is the gift of Mr. Edward N. Raymond of St. Cloud, through the courtesy of the Honorable J. B. Pattison of the same place.

A pair of heavy silver armlets with incised decorations have been deposited with the society by Mr. Scott N. Farnham of Minneapolis, who obtained them many years ago from a Sioux chief.

In order that some relic of the historic old Sawyer House of Stillwater — which has recently been wrecked — may be preserved for posterity Mr. L. E. Torinus and Mr. Oscar Ostrom of Stillwater have presented to the society a handsome full-length mirror in an antique frame, which evidently dates back to the very early days of the hotel.

A patchwork quilt some nine feet square, beautifully worked in the " Blazing Star " design, which was made in the South prior to the Civil War, has recently been placed on deposit with the society by Mrs. Everton J. Abbott of St. Paul.

B. and M. Gratz, Merchants in Philadelphia, 1754–1798; Papers of Interest to Their Posterity and the Posterity of Their Associates, selected and edited by William V. Byars (1916. 386 p.), is the title of a beautifully bound volume presented by Mrs. J. R. Morton of Lexington, Kentucky. The work, which is privately printed in an edition of only 250 copies, contains a wealth of material of great value to anyone interested in early trading enterprises and land speculation in the West.

NEWS AND COMMENT

A great deal of important Minnesota history might be brought together in a volume on the trails, roads, and highways of the state. Such a work, if rightly conceived and carefully done, would be of special interest to students of Minnesota's social and economic development. Transportation in its general relation to the life and development of the people of Minnesota would have to be considered. In addition to descriptive accounts of roads and their relation to the developing industry of the region the volume might include material on early methods of travel, tavern life, and social customs as revealed by contemporary records of local travel. A model for precisely this sort of study is *Chicago's Highways, Old and New: From Indian Trail to Motor Road,* by Milo M. Quaife (Chicago, 1923. 278 p.). The author of this admirable book reconstructs "a picture of the now-forgotten life of the pioneer highways which made possible the development of Chicago in the days before the coming of the railroad." There is an opening chapter on the "Birth of a Metropolis." This is followed by a chapter on "The Road to Chicago," which is of general interest for western history. After a series of chapters on special highways, some of which were of great importance in connection with the movement of population into the Northwest, the work closes with entertaining descriptions of stagecoach travel, taverns and tavern life, dangers of the highway, and a bridal tour in pioneer Illinois. A "Guide to the Chief Points of Historical Interest Within a Day's Journey of Chicago" is printed as an appendix.

One interesting suggestion made in the recent report on state parks by Mr. Ray P. Chase, the state auditor of Minnesota (see *ante,* p. 137), was that the sites of early fur-trading posts in Minnesota should be appropriately marked. The determination of the exact location of many of these posts offers an attractive problem for local historical societies to solve. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the site of Kullyspell House, the trading post established by David Thompson in 1809 on Pend

d'Oreille Lake in what is now northern Idaho, has been located by Mr. Duncan McDonald of Dixon, Montana, according to an article in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for March 29.

That history should explain "how our present institutions and culture came about," indicate "their possible defects," and aid us "more intelligently to plan for a better future" is the basic view of an article on "History and Social Intelligence," by Harry E. Barnes, in the *Journal of Social Forces* for January.

Extracts from books of travel and description by British travelers in the United States are skillfully brought together in a book entitled *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers,* edited by Allan Nevins (New York, 1923. 577 p.). The West figures only slightly in the volume and only two references to Minnesota have been noted: one, a passage from Anthony Trollope in which the spirit of Minnesota volunteers in the Civil War is described, and the other a quotation from Mr. W. L. George in which tribute is paid to the architectural beauty of the Minneapolis grain elevators.

An article on the "Promotion of Historical Study in America Following the Civil War," by James A. Woodburn, and a brief account of "The Illinois Historical Collections," by Theodore C. Pease, are among the papers printed in the *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1922.

An "Outline for a Survey of Local History and Historical Material" which could be used in any community is printed in the *Indiana History Bulletin* for March.

Much information of Minnesota interest is embodied in a work entitled *The Coöperative Elevator Movement: A Study in Grain Marketing at Country Points in the North Central States,* by Dr. Joseph B. Kenkel (Washington, 1922. 155 p.). The second chapter in the book is devoted to an historical survey of coöperative grain marketing in the north central states.

A contribution to the history of the Northern Securities Company is made in chapter 7 of *Robert Bacon: Life and Letters,* by James Brown Scott (Garden City and New York, 1923. 459 p.). Robert Bacon, who later became secretary of state and ambassa-

dor to France, was a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan and Company at the time of the events which led to the formation of the Northern Securities Company.

"An Empire Builder: James J. Hill" is the title of one chapter in a book of biographical sketches entitled *Our Foreign Born Citizens: What They Have Done for America,* by Annie E. S. Beard (New York, 1922. 288 p.).

A useful work for historians as well as for geographers is *A Treatise on the Law of Surveying and Boundaries* by Frank E. Clark (Indianapolis, 1922. 631 p.).

Ready print, stereotype plates, mats, and copy figure largely in a *History of Auxiliary Newspaper Service in the United States* by Elmo Scott Watson (Champaign, Illinois, 1923. 46 p.). One chapter of this book tells of "The Rise of the Western Newspaper Union" and the entire volume throws light upon the newspaper service which the average Minnesota community receives.

A convenient brief summary of available contemporary accounts of the chief French explorations in the seventeenth century is presented in *Relations des Voyageurs Français en nouvelle France au XVII^me^ Siècle,* by Séraphin Marion (Paris, 1923. 276 p.). The scope of the work has made impossible any detailed critical consideration of the various explorers discussed. Hennepin receives practically no attention from the author, although he devotes sections to such figures as Radisson, Perrot, and Le Sueur.

The 1923 *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History in Progress at the Chief American Universities,* published by the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, includes the following subjects of interest to students of Minnesota history: Economic Causes of Agrarian Discontent in the West, by Henrietta Larson (Minnesota); History of the Flour Milling Industry in the United States, with Special Emphasis on the Industry in Minneapolis, by C. B. Kuhlmann (Minnesota); Immigration during the Civil War, by Annie Neal (Wisconsin); Robert Dickson, a British Fur Trader of the Northwest, by L. A. Tohill (Minnesota); The Political Balance of the Northwest, by

R. C. Buley (Wisconsin); The Rise of Cities in the Mississippi Valley, by E. G. O'Geran (Michigan); The Rôle of Henry Villard in the Development of Transportation in the Northwest, 1875–95, by J. B. Hedges (Harvard); United States Administration of Indian Affairs in Minnesota, 1819–40, by Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr. (Harvard); History of Poor Relief in Minnesota, by G. A. Lundberg (Minnesota); Development of the Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Center, by Mildred L. Hartsough (Minnesota); The Expansion of Canada into the Northwest, to 1870, by John P. Pritchett (Minnesota); The Agrarian Movement in North Dakota, by Paul Fossum (Johns Hopkins); A History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States, by Theodore C. Blegen (Minnesota); and A History of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, by J. M. Rohne (Harvard).

The chapter of Lord Charnwood's *Theodore Roosevelt* (Boston, 1923) entitled "Nineteenth-Century America" is a notable exposition of the part played by the West, by frontier influences and problems, in making America what it was at the end of that century.

Stories of early railroading in the Northwest, recalled by Mr. Edgar F. Woode, Mr. Clark B. Davidson, and Mr. John D. Condit, three pioneer employees of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway, are recorded in an illustrated feature article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for January 13. Of special interest is a description of the discomforts of winter travel in the poorly heated coaches with the danger ever present of a snow blockade between the widely separated towns. In the *Pioneer Press* for March 16 some experiences of another pioneer railroad man, Mr. John Traynor, who was connected with Minnesota railroads from 1866 to 1912, are recounted.

An account of the "Old Days of Rafting on the Mississippi River," by Harry G. Dyer, is published in the *Stillwater Daily Gazette* for March 17.

A valuable analysis of "The Economic Background of Frontier Populism," by Hallie Farmer, appears in the March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Two other articles in the same number are of general interest to students of north-

western history: "Francis Parkman, 1823–1923," by Joseph Schafer, and "Western Land Hunger and the War of 1812: A Conjecture," by Louis Morton Hacker.

Numerous articles on the history of the Scandinavians in America appear in a new periodical entitled *Scandinavia: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Interests of Scandinavians Everywhere,* edited by Georg Strandvold and published by P. O. Thorson at Grand Forks, North Dakota. The first number of this publication, issued in January, reprints Mr. Albert O. Barton's interesting article on "Muskego, the Most Historic Norwegian Colony" (see *ante,* p. 284). There is also a brief article on the early Norse discoveries entitled "The First Chapter of Civilization on the American Continent," by Rasmus B. Anderson. The February number contains an article on "The Swedish Historical Society of America," by C. G. Wallenius; an analysis of "The Anneke Jans Delusions," by Torstein Jahr; an account of "A Singing Settlement" (Lindsborg, Kansas), by Alfred Bergin; and an illustrated article, "With a Pioneer Through Luther College Museum," by J. Magnus Rohne. "Andreas Dreyer (Andries Draeyer)," a colonial officer of the seventeenth century who was of Scandinavian origin, is the subject of a study by Torstein Jahr in the March number. Miss Clara Jacobson contributes to the same issue an account of "A Pioneer Pastor Who Knew Lincoln," the Reverend Abraham Jacobson, who, it appears, figured in Minnesota history as a missionary in Otter Tail, Douglas, and other counties, in the late sixties. "Norwegians in the Public and Political Life of the United States" is the title of an illuminating paper by Juul Dieserud. Two especially interesting articles in the April number are "The Danish Settlement at Tyler, Minnesota," by Kristian Ostergaard, and "An Outline of Norwegian-American Literature," by Einar Josephson. The magazine is handsome in appearance, well edited, and interesting, and its first four issues indicate that it will be an important medium for the publication of historical material.

In a suggestive article entitled "The Making and the Mission of America," by John H. Finley, published in the *American-Scandinavian Review* for January, the inadequacy of the "melting

pot" theory of American population is emphasized. "If 'Americanization' means a hybridization of race, a melting of all cultures," writes the author, "it would probably mean a reversion to one or another original type, a transmutation into a lower culture, an alloy far less precious than some at least of the gifts that have value both of substance and of form."

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March contains a paper on "Albion Academy," where Knute Nelson received his education, by J. Q. Emery; an article on Henry de Tonty by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg; and an interesting sketch of "Trempealeau: A French Outpost of the Seventeenth Century and a State Park of Today," by W. A. Titus, in which is told the story of Nicolas Perrot.

The entire double number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* for July-October, 1923, is devoted to articles on Marquette and Jolliet and the discovery of the Mississippi. Several of the articles are reprinted from the July *Palimpsest* (see *ante,* p. 314).

A life of the Indiana antislavery leader *George W. Julian,* by Grace Julian Clarke, has been published as volume 1 in the *Indiana Biographical Series,* issued by the Indiana Historical Commission (Indianapolis, 1923. 456 p.).

A suggestive paper entitled "Historical Documents as Symbols of Historic Ideas," by A. L. Kohlmeier, is printed in an extra number of the *Indiana History Bulletin* dated February. This number is given up to the proceedings of the Fifth Annual Indiana History Conference, which was held on December 7 and 8 at Indianapolis. Several interesting addresses are included in the volume, among them one on the "Importance and Possibilities of State Historical Museums," by Charles E. Brown, and one on "County Historical Museums," by John A. Hibberd.

A paper on "The Granger Movement in the Middle West, with Special Reference to Iowa," by W. A. Anderson, is printed in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for January.

A scholarly essay on *The Government of Special Charter Cities in Iowa,* by George F. Robeson, has been issued by the State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City, 1923. 286 p.).

An admirable example of worth-while publication of historical source materials is the second volume of *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812,* edited by William Wood and published by the Champlain Society (Toronto, 1923. 517 p.). Among these papers there are occasional interesting references to the Indian problem in the Northwest; for example, a letter from General Henry Proctor, dated September 6, 1813, deals with the important question of supplies and ammunition for the Indians (p. 269).

A bronze tablet marking the fording point on the Red River where the Red River carts were taken across the stream is to be placed by the Red River Valley chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, according to a dispatch from Grand Forks published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 1.

A trip from Port Arthur to Fort Garry in 1874 over the "Dawson land-and-water route" is described by a Manitoba pioneer, Mr. J. C. Stuart, in the *Manitoba Free Press* of Winnipeg for January 23. He relates that the difficulties of travel by boat and wagon were so great that he undertook to walk the final 120 miles from the Lake of the Woods to the fort.

General Minnesota Items

The claim that the "first Minnesota farm" was on Prairie Island in the Mississippi River and that the farmers were none other than the explorers Radisson and Groseilliers, is made by Arthur T. Adams in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 6.

Faculty members and employees who have served the University of Minnesota for thirty years or more were honored at the Charter Day exercises at the university on February 14. Dr. William W. Folwell, the first president of the university, celebrated his ninety-first birthday by delivering an address at these exercises on "How the University Secured Its Charter."

Some of the experiences of the Reverend James Sunderland as a Baptist missionary in Minnesota in the eighties are recounted in *Annals of a Life of Faith: An Autobiography, Reverend James Sunderland, D. D.* (Kansas City, 1923. 281 p.).

At a time when the restriction of immigration is one of the most important questions before Congress it is enlightening to find that during the latter half of the nineteenth century the various states were so anxious to secure immigrants that they sent agents both abroad and to New York to persuade newcomers to settle within their limits. Some Minnesota activities in this field are described in a feature article entitled "Minnesota Found Advertising Got Desired Immigrants in the Early Days" in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for January 20. A suggestive comparison is made between the Know-Nothing movement of the fifties and the Ku Klux Klan of the present. The article is based in part upon the documents published in the BULLETIN for August, 1923 (see *ante,* p. 167–203). Among the illustrations are some interesting views of Castle Garden, where immigrants landed previous to 1890.

The second spectacular campaign in the political career of Knute Nelson, "when he was a candidate for United States Senator against Senator William D. Washburn" in 1895, is the subject of a detailed narrative by Elmer E. Adams which is published in three installments in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for January 4, 5, and 7. The author reaches the conclusion that Nelson during the gubernatorial campaign in the autumn of 1894 had pledged himself not to oppose Washburn for the senatorship. Mr. Adams' account of Nelson's campaign against Charles F. Kindred in 1882 appears in a previous number of the BULLETIN (see *ante,* p. 87–107).

A valuable account of the movement for woman suffrage in Minnesota from 1883 to 1900 appears in volume 4 of *The History of Woman Suffrage,* edited by Susan B. Anthony and Ida H. Harper (Rochester, 1902); and in volume 6 of the same work, edited by Ida H. Harper (New York, 1922), the story of the movement in Minnesota is brought down to the ratification of the federal amendment by the state legislature in 1919. The sketch of the movement from 1900 to 1919 is contributed by Mrs. S. A. Stockwell, "for ten years president of the State Suffrage Association and for over twenty years a member of its executive board."

An interesting chapter is added to the history of the dairy industry in Minnesota by Charles F. Collisson in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 2. He describes the careers of two Owatonna women, Mrs. Mina L. Holmes and Mrs. J. H. McRostie, who first won fame for Minnesota as a butter-producing state by taking prizes at international expositions.

The circumstances which caused a "scarcity of lumber in Minnesota a half century ago, when millions of acres of virgin timber stood untouched by ax or saw," are described in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 12. According to this account the "spring floods which were depended on to float the timber to market, did not materialize" in 1863 and 1864 and many of the sawmills around St. Paul were forced to close because they could not get logs. The terrible log jam in the spring of 1865 on the St. Croix River also is described in this article, which is based upon contemporary newspaper comment. Early lumbering in the state is the subject of another article entitled "How Pirates Bold of Minnesota Logging Days Stripped Timber," which is contributed to the *Pioneer Press* of February 3 by C. C. Kelly, a pioneer lumberman at Grand Rapids.

Some reminiscences of Fort Ridgely during the Sioux War of 1862, related by Mr. O. H. Clarke of Minneapolis, form the basis of a feature article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 30.

An interesting account of the Fisk expedition of 1862 and of some of the adventures as a vigilante in Montana of one of its members, Nathaniel P. Langford of St. Paul, is presented by Don Stetson in the *St. Paul Daily News* for February 17. Items of local interest are stressed throughout the article, which is based upon Langford's personal narrative and upon contemporary newspaper comment.

Charles Henry Prior, 1833–1921 is the title of a little pamphlet (37 p.) telling about the activities of a prominent Minnesota civil engineer, railway official, and business man. The booklet has been compiled mainly from the diary of Mr. Prior, which was begun in 1853 and continued faithfully for sixty-eight years. The few extracts and summaries now printed indicate that

the diary as a whole contains a mine of material on the history of transportation and other business enterprises in Minneapolis and elsewhere in the state.

An attractive booklet entitled *George H. Haven* (15 p.) has been issued in commemoration of the life and services of a prominent Minnesota business man who died on August 5, 1923, at his home in Chatfield.

A brief article bearing the title "Michael J. Dowling, the Story of a 'Game Man,'" is printed in the *Journal* of the American Irish Historical Society for 1923.

A sketch of Charles T. Cavalier, a pioneer who settled first near St. Paul and in 1851 at Pembina, North Dakota, appears in number 2 of the *Statehood Souvenir* issued by the Red River Valley Old Settlers' Association.

In the Twin City papers of the past three months numerous biographical sketches and reminiscent stories of pioneers are published. These include outlines of the careers of Mr. William de la Barre, who has been connected with the milling interests at the Falls of St. Anthony since 1878, in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 29, and of Mr. Jacob J. Folsom, a Hinkley business man, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for March 30; accounts of the adventures of Mr. Nicholas Faber of St. Paul, "a retired city fireman, who served thirty-two years, beginning in 1881," and of Detective Philip W. Schweitzer of St. Paul, who "is on record at Central police station as the earliest to enter service," in the *Pioneer Press* for January 27 and February 3; and a narrative of the experiences of Mr. John Ahern of St. Paul as an Indian fighter after the Custer massacre, in the *St. Paul Daily News* for March 23. Mrs. George F. Wilkins of Minneapolis recalls early days at the University of Minnesota, with which she was connected both as a student and as an instructor in the seventies, in the *Journal* for January 27. An account of the visit to St. Paul of Archbishop Samuel P. Matheson of Winnipeg, in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for February 19, includes his recollections of the Red River settlement and of a journey to Minnesota's capital in 1876.

Local History Items

Perhaps the most important recent development in the field of Minnesota local history is the organization of the Ramsey County Historical Society. Last fall a committee of the Fourth District Federation of Women's Clubs, with Mrs. Ernest J. Stiefel of St. Paul as chairman, was appointed to take preliminary steps toward the establishment of such a society. An organization meeting was held on January 25 and after talks by Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, and the Honorable Arthur E. Nelson, mayor of St. Paul, temporary officers were chosen and a committee was appointed to draw up a constitution. On February 29 this committee reported at a meeting called by the temporary president and a constitution based upon the model constitution printed in the Bulletin for February-May, 1922, was adopted. Officers elected to serve until the annual meeting in May were: Mr. Edward P. Davis, president; Mayor Arthur E. Nelson, first vice president; Miss Mary V. Carney, second vice president; Mrs. Stiefel, secretary; and Mr. Earnest H. Davidson, treasurer. The constitution provides for two classes of active members, — life and annual, — the dues for the former being a single payment of twenty-five dollars and for the latter one dollar a year. In addition to the regular officers the society is to have a board of directors composed of the officers and nine elected members. The society is to be affiliated with the Minnesota Historical Society as an institutional member and provision is made for an annual report to the superintendent of the state society. Thus the foundations have been laid for organized local history activity in Ramsey County.

In another county of the state important progress in local history organization has been made. As early as 1893 an old settlers' association was organized in Becker county, but this society seems to have had a short existence. In 1923 an informal movement to mark a local site of historic interest led to the organization of the Becker County Historical Society. This institution was reorganized at a meeting held in Detroit on January 25, 1924, new by-laws were adopted, and the following officers were elected: Dr. L. C. Weeks, president; Miss Sadie Dunning,

vice-president; and Mr. E. J. Bestick, secretary-treasurer. The society has collected a considerable number of pictures of scenes and persons connected with Becker County history and possesses files of some of the early newspapers published in the county. It also has assembled the nucleus for a collection of Indian and other relics of historical interest. The society has been given the use of a room in the public library of Detroit.

These new developments in Ramsey and Becker counties make it evident that the movement for the organization of local history work is gaining force in Minnesota. There are indications that attempts to form local historical societies will soon be made in Hennepin, Faribault, and Olmsted counties.

The St. Louis County Historical Society continues its public activity. Among the topics of the papers and addresses given at a meeting held in Duluth on March 3 were the following: "Memoir of Joseph Pecore, a Pioneer of the Northwest," by Cotter Randall of Duluth; "Historical Background of Jay Cooke State Park," by Henry Oldenburg of Carlton; "A Simple Statement of Geologic Facts Regarding the Minnesota Iron Ranges," by J. Fred Wolff of Duluth; "Some Early History of the Duluth Canal," by John H. Darling of Duluth; and the "Fragmentary Diary of Mrs. Edmund Franklin Ely," by Mrs. A. T. Banning, Jr., of Duluth.

A detailed account of "The Battle of New Ulm" in 1862 by Colonel Charles E. Flandrau is printed in a special "auto and style show edition" of the *New Ulm Review,* issued on February 20. In a prefactory note it is explained that Colonel Flandrau wrote the narrative for Mr. Parker Peirce, now of Kamiah, Idaho, for use in a book which the latter was preparing "years ago." Mr. Peirce, who wrote a volume on the Sioux War, did not make use of the Flandrau account and recently he submitted it for publication in the *Review.* In the same number of this paper appears a description of a "Military Ball at Fort Ridgely" on February 22, 1865, by Mrs. G. C. Ashby.

Accounts of the early settlement of Sheldon, Winnebago, and Union townships have been added during the past three months to the histories of Houston County townships which the *Caledonia*

Journal is publishing serially (see *ante,* p. 394). The first settlers and pioneer milling enterprises at Deer Creek in Otter Tail county are described in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for January 30.

The growth since 1898 of the Mankato Citizens' Telephone Company is the subject of an article in the *Mankato Free Press* for March 29.

The history of the Rochester Baptist Church, which was founded in 1857, is reviewed in the *Rochester Daily Post and Record* for January 31.

The annual meeting of the Read's Landing Association, composed of former residents of the little town on the Mississippi River, was held in Minneapolis on March 22.

The story of the old Sawyer House at Stillwater (see *ante,* p. 460) is reviewed in an illustrated feature article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 17. The old hotel was erected in 1860 and was a center of activity in Stillwater during the years of the city's greatest prosperity. Some of the prominent men who have been guests at the hotel are mentioned and important events which have taken place there are noted in the article.

A brief history of Ericksonville in Mille Lacs County and a sketch of Lars Erickson for whom the town was named appear in the *Onamia Teamwork* for January 17.

Among the subjects recently dealt with by Benjamin Back-number in his sketches of "St. Paul Before This" in the *St. Paul Daily News* are "Newspapers in the 80's," January 20; "Press Association Beginnings," February 10; and some early local printers, March 9.

The seventieth anniversary of the incorporation of the city of St. Paul was celebrated by a special luncheon at the St. Paul Athletic Club on March 5 at which speeches were made on "A Look into the Past," by Judge Thomas D. O'Brien; on "St. Paul Today," by L. R. S. Ferguson; and on "The Problem of Tomorrow," by Paul N. Meyers.

The development of St. Paul as a railroad center is traced in an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for January 27. Among

the events which have marked the city's progress are noted the building of its first railroad in 1862, the formation of the St. Paul Union Depot Company in 1879, the completion of the first union passenger depot in 1881, and the erection of the present handsome station.

An interesting celebration, held in St. Paul on February 22, commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the local council of the Knights of Columbus. A sketch of the history of this organization appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 17.

An account of the history of the St. Anthony Turnverein, which was founded in 1857 by German pioneers, appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for January 27.

Various phases of the musical development of Minneapolis are described in a group of articles in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 17. The history of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra since its organization in 1903 is reviewed, and accounts of the growth of the MacPhail School of Music and of the Minneapolis School of Music, Oratory, and Dramatic Art are presented. In the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for January 20 is a brief sketch of the career of Leberich Otto, who is said to have "organized the first band in the Northwest" at St. Paul.

Special services were conducted on February 10, 11, and 12, at St. Olaf Lutheran Church of Minneapolis in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of its founding.

The planning and building of the Church of the Holy Trinity of Minneapolis in 1873 are described in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* of March 2. Extracts from letters written by the pastor, the Reverend George L. Chase, reveal that he designed the structure; members of his congregation, including Dr. William W. Folwell, are said to have aided in its construction. A picture of the old Gothic church appears with the article.

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MINNESOTA HISTORY IN THE HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM[1]

Advocates of additional subjects for our high school curricula receive a lukewarm response these days when the cost of school support is higher than at any time in the history of the state. In many cases Minnesota high schools have reduced the number of subjects taught and cut down their faculties in order to check the mounting costs. Nevertheless, if we are to make progress in secondary education certain changes must take place.

In the programs of Minnesota high schools the subject of state history has been until recently a minus quantity. Today it is in the experimental stage. In a considerable number of schools some attempt is made to correlate state with national history, but the high school which offers state history for credit, in its regular program of studies, is the rare exception. This neglect of the study of Minnesota history is mainly due to the following reasons: first, it is feared by some that the intensive study of state history may result in an undue emphasis upon the state at the expense of the nation and thus promote provincialism; second, many believe that, although Minnesota history should be correlated with national history in high school study, state history does not merit the dignity of a separate course; third, the high school programs are already overcrowded, and, in fact, school superintendents have tried so many new courses that some of them have had to be discarded and relegated to the limbo of forgotten things; and

[1] A paper read on June 21 in Detroit, Minnesota, at the third annual state historical convention. A somewhat similar paper by Mr. White, entitled "A High School Course in Minnesota History," was read on April 15 at a meeting in Minneapolis of the social studies section of the eighth annual conference of Minnesota high school teachers. *Ed.*

finally, no text has yet been written which meets the demands of a state history course, nor are there teachers available who are adequately prepared for the work.

Perhaps my experience with a course in Minnesota history which was offered in the Frazee High School in the fall of 1923 enables me to meet some of these objections to state history courses. In the first place, it is certain that state history need make no student provincial. Obviously our national history and state history are closely related. Neither stands alone and therefore it is important to understand their correlation. The history of this commonwealth sheds light upon national history. Furthermore, a better understanding of certain epochs of our national history will be secured by getting a view from a western standpoint as well as from that of the New England historian. Let easterners use the term "provincial," for they know more about it.

No curriculum should be overcrowded but in any curriculum the best should be welcome, always. If the study of Minnesota history helps to develop better citizens, — and I maintain that it does, — it justifies itself. Much may be said for the idea of subordinating Minnesota history to national history and of correlating the two in the high school course in American history. The danger is that in this general course, which in most Minnesota high schools is crowded into the space of one semester, the general demands are so heavy that Minnesota history is practically eliminated. The study of state history should be sufficiently distinct to throw light upon the story of our country.

Judging from past experience with other subjects we may conclude that suitable texts and adequately trained teachers will become available as soon as educators give to Minnesota history the attention which it merits. In his introduction to the first volume of Dr. William W. Folwell's *History of Minnesota,* Dr. Solon J. Buck, the superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, writes, "For over seventy years the Min-

nesota Historical Society has been garnering the materials for the history of the state." Dr. Folwell's history, two volumes of which have already appeared, is "based in large part on those materials" and is in itself a veritable treasure house of historical material for teachers and students. The state historical society publishes a quarterly magazine known as the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, a series of volumes of *Collections,* and other materials, which are all useful.[2] The fact that no textbook has been published which contains enough material for a high school class of seniors need not deter a superintendent or a teacher from offering the course. The assistant superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, has prepared outlines of the subject which I found to be of great help in organizing material for presentation to the class and for class reading and study.[3] The use of these outlines involves considerable reading on the part of the student. Such gathering of material by the student serves as a modest introduction to the reading methods of the college student and indeed it tends to develop a habit of independent and careful reading which will be very useful even if the student should not go to college.

High school students should be given the opportunity to study Minnesota history for the pleasure which it affords. In gamboling over the wide field of Minnesota's past, the student travels far, sees strange sights, goes back to the earliest days of our colonial as well as of our national history, meets many

[2] The current publications of the society are made available to any school or library in the state which becomes a subscriber at the nominal rate of two dollars a year. To any subscribing library the earlier publications of the society are available at a very small cost.

[3] "The Correlation of American and Minnesota History: A Syllabus of Minnesota History for High School Teachers, with a Plan for Coordinating National and State History." This syllabus, which is available in the form of mimeographed copies, contains outlines, questions, and references for twenty-one topics in Minnesota history. There is also a general bibliography. Suggestions are made for the correlation of each state history topic with a broader general topic in American history.

companionable characters, and experiences the fascination of a rapidly changing drama. In the selection of optional subjects in the high school curriculum most students follow the line of their tastes and their pleasures. The subject of Minnesota history is assuredly wholesome and good and hence the reason for teaching it is good.

One of the most common reasons assigned for the study of history is that it makes clear the background of present conditions and thus helps us to understand the complexities of our environment, socially, economically, and in other respects. The majority of the high school students in this state were born here and will spend the remainder of their lives here. Minnesota history will supply them with a knowledge of facts and events which have had a part in shaping the conditions which surround them today. They will read newspapers published in Minnesota and they will vote as citizens of Minnesota. Will they not do these things more intelligently if they are familiar with the history of this state?

The study of Minnesota history possesses a genuine human interest. The biographies of eminent men and women who have made and are making the commonwealth great abound in the elements of the human touch. The fathers and mothers of many boys and girls in Minnesota have shared the hardships of the transformation from pioneer life to the thriving life of farm, village, and city today. The grandparents of many a Minnesota boy or girl laid down their lives as victims of the lurking savage, or of the rigors of a stern climate, or of the chances of the battlefield. Minnesota has had her Daniel Boones, Grace Darlings, and Molly Pitchers. John G. Patton and Dr. O. R. Bachelder among the savages of the equatorial regions performed no harder task nor carried the banner of religion with better grace and assurance than did the early missionaries among the Dakota and Ojibway Indians of Minnesota.

Minnesota history arouses the enthusiasm and personal interest of high school students. Naturally this interest is a force which may and should be effectively utilized by the teacher. Information about local or pioneer history may be gleaned from older people in the community, people well known to the boys and girls of the school. The interest of the students is immediately reciprocated by their elders. Friendly associations are formed and the aged acquire a new attraction for the young men and women. A mutual respect is created between young and old that is lasting. In every town there are many who may be found willing to contribute personal reminiscences which will be welcome additions to the class routine. In my own class this happened on several occasions. Much interest was aroused when arrowheads were discovered on a nearby farm. A bullet which wounded a Civil War soldier in the battle of Fredericksburg, an early make of surveying instrument used in the period before Minnesota became a state, numerous Indian relics, and copies of early newspapers caught the interest of the students and created a desire for further investigation of Minnesota history. The students gained a new viewpoint concerning history and its making. It dawned on them that history after all is nothing more than that which is recorded of the experiences of individuals singly or in groups. After getting this point of view students learn to weigh more carefully the material presented in the texts dealing with the larger fields of history.

The teaching of state history has proved successful in other states. The schools in our neighbor states, North Dakota and South Dakota, both offer courses in state history, and in the former the teaching of state history has been made compulsory by law. The recent provision made for state history in the elementary school curriculum of Minnesota is an excellent forward step. The work should be extended into the high schools as a broader and deeper

subject. The quality of the work done by the pupils will of course depend upon the enthusiasm and the experience of the teacher. It is by trial that Minnesota history will win its way in the schools.

I will not attempt to outline with any degree of exactness the subject matter of a course in Minnesota history. The geological and geographical conditions should be studied with care. In fact this study should be made much more intensive than anything that the student has ever attempted before along this line. The period of discovery and exploration should be considered next. Several of the earliest explorers should receive the attention of the whole class and short biographical sketches of others should be reported individually. A description of the probable appearance of Minnesota in early days will at once stimulate the imagination and test the accuracy of the student. The great fur trade, the gradual transition to agriculture, and the efforts of the early missionaries are among the topics that are worthy of the time of the students and teachers. They help to explain the rush of white settlement that followed. The government assumed a degree of wardship for the Indian tribes settled in Minnesota. Did the Indian policy encourage or deter early settlement? What the government does is always a legitimate subject for argument. A class of high school students might profitably debate the merits of the various Indian treaties.

The period of Minnesota territorial history is one of great interest. In the fifties came the tide of sectionalism which was to lead to civil strife. But the status of Minnesota on its admission to the Union was not a bone of contention, for it had been settled by northerners imbued with the sentiments of free labor. The admission of Minnesota was delayed for several months, however. This delay calls to the mind of the student the Congressional debates of that day, all surcharged with the slavery question. The great issues of that critical period can be profitably reviewed by the student as he traces

the relation of his own state to the larger events of the nation. The Civil War may be studied so as to bring out the contributions made by Minnesota men, by the famous First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, and other gallant regiments. The names of Sibley, Ramsey, Shields, Crooks, and others enter into the story of this period of Minnesota history.

Let the student discover how St. Paul became the capital of the state. Let him consider the plans of Little Crow for driving the white man out of Minnesota. Would not this aim have been achieved if the Chippewa and the South Dakota Indians had joined forces with him? The Sioux War ranks as perhaps the most terrible Indian outbreak in our history and its causes as well as its tragic course deserve study. The bloody tale is not one of horror only, but also one of courage and heroism.

The student should study the history of transportation in Minnesota, especially the story of the building of the railroads. He must become familiar with the relations between the railroads and the economic life of the people. In fact, the railroads have had far-reaching influences, even in the sphere of political life.

Economic conditions at various periods in the state's past should be studied with care. Some interesting projects suggest themselves in this field, for example, a comparison of the prices following the Civil War with those that prevailed after the World War.

The political history of Minnesota is a fascinating field for study. The local interest of it is heightened by the fact that much material on this phase is available through newspapers. Many of the county weekly newspapers have complete files dating back to pioneer days, in one case, back to 1854. Usually the owners of these files will be glad to allow students to make use of them.

A beginning has been made in the teaching of Minnesota history in the high schools of this state. Doubtless the ten-

dency will be more and more to correlate state with national history in high school courses and this tendency should be encouraged. It may be a matter of years before a state course in this subject is secured. More voices than mine must be raised in behalf of Minnesota history as a high school study. There are objections which must be overcome. There must be for educators a period of pioneering in this field, as once there was for settlers in the early history of our state.

ARTHUR D. WHITE

FRAZEE, MINNESOTA

THE INFORMATION BUREAU

THE BOUNDARIES OF BROWN COUNTY

The Junior Pioneer Association is now making plans to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the first settlement of the original Brown County of Minnesota Territory. Could you give us the following information or direct us to sources where we can find it: The legislative act organizing Brown County in Minnesota Territory; the discussion in the legislature in regard to naming that county; and the subsequent acts reducing the original county?

August Hummel, New Ulm

The legislative act which established Brown County was an omnibus measure which related to twenty-five counties of Minnesota Territory. It was approved on February 20, 1855. The following section, printed in the territorial *Laws* for 1855 (p. 26), refers to Brown County: "Sec. 19. That so much of the territory as was formerly included within the county of Blue Earth, and has not been included within the boundaries of any other county, as herein established, shall be known as the county of Brown." The northeastern, eastern, and southern boundaries of the area of the huge county thus established are indicated on the sketch map which accompanies this report.

The process of reduction in size began in 1857 when an extra session of the legislature established the counties of Martin, Jackson, Cottonwood, Murray, Nobles, Rock, and Pipestone, all carved out of the original Brown County. Martin County took over a part of the area originally included within Faribault County. The act of 1857, which is printed in the *Laws* for the extra session of 1857 (ch. 14, p. 66), also established two counties, Big Sioux and Medway, which lay outside the boundaries of the state upon its admission. No attempt has been made to show the boundaries of these counties on the accompanying map.

By an act approved on February 25, 1860, provision was made for the establishment of the county of Watonwan. The temporary county seat of the new county was to be located at

Madelia and the county was to be attached to Brown County for judicial purposes. Section 3 of the act provided for a popular vote by the electors of Brown County, at the next general election, for or against the organization of the new county. If a majority voted for such organization, "then and thereafter said County of Watonwan shall be established as above described." See the Minnesota *Special Laws* for 1860

(ch. 13, p. 66). The establishment of the county was ratified by a large majority in the November, 1860, election.

Provision for the establishment of Redwood County was made in an act approved on February 6, 1862, which defined the new western boundary of Brown County and designated the territory cut off from the old county as Redwood County, with a proviso that "this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its ratification by the voters of Brown County, as provided in section three of this act." The law is printed in the *Special Laws* for 1862 (ch. 21, p. 255). Popular ratification of the act was given, apparently, at the next general election.

An act of 1864, approved on March 4 and printed in the *Laws* for 1864 (p. 337), provided for a western extension of Brown County at the expense of Cottonwood and Redwood counties — two townships in each. The proposition was to be submitted to a vote of the people of the three counties. As Cottonwood County was unorganized no vote was cast there, and only 14 votes were cast in Redwood County, whereas in Brown County 287 votes were given in favor of the change and none against it. In John A. Brown's *History of Cottonwood and Watonwan Counties, Minnesota,* 1:91 (Indianapolis, 1916), the townships taken from Cottonwood County are designated as "stolen" townships. "Much has been said and written in times past concerning the two civil townships that should have been left as a part of Cottonwood county, but which, through trickery, were stolen and added to Brown County," writes Brown. An act approved on March 6, 1871, which was intended to restore the townships, 108, ranges 34 and 35, and 109, ranges 34 and 35, to Cottonwood and Redwood counties respectively upon approval of a majority of the voters of the three counties, appears in the *Laws* for that year (p. 311). Such approval was not given. Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, in his *History of Redwood County, Minnesota,* 1:175 (Chicago, 1916) states that the vote was taken in November,

1871, and that the proposition to return the townships was defeated. He remarks that the "anxiety of the people of Redwood county to secure these two townships is explained by the fact that the region in dispute was then supposed to contain coal and iron."

In 1873 Emory Clark, an attorney of Windom, wrote a vigorous protest to the *Windom Reporter* against the retention of the disputed area by Brown County. This protest is printed in full in Brown's *History of Cottonwood and Watonwan Counties,* 1:91–93. A portion of Clark's letter deserves quotation:

> Now it is contended by some, that as the act provided for a vote of the three counties on the proposition and one of these counties was then unorganized, the result of the election in 1864 did not effect a change of the county lines; and moreover that the law itself was unconstitutional, as it endorsed more than one subject which was not expressed in the title. Be that as it may, we still find in the General Statutes of 1866, chapter 8, section 16, that the boundary line of Cottonwood county is the same as established on May 29, 1857.
>
> The interests of Cottonwood county requires [*sic*] an early determination of this state of doubt as to the county line. The assessed valuation of the lands alone in these two townships amounted to $15,000, besides it embraces one-tenth of the whole territory of the county. The tax and benefit of these townships are now being enjoyed by Brown county. The authorities of Cottonwood county should be as vigilant of the county lines as a farmer is of his farm boundary lines.

To this protest by Clark, Brown adds the following comment, "It will be remembered that the vote was taken on this question in 1864 — a time when Cottonwood county had been depopulated by the Indian uprising of 1862, and many of the settlers in Redwood and Cottonwood counties had not yet returned to their claims." Neither Brown nor Clark makes any reference to the act of 1871.

A glance at the map will show that the area in dispute was never returned to Redwood and Cottonwood counties. There

has been no further change in the boundaries of Brown County since the addition of 1864.

The county, as is well known, was named in honor of Joseph Renshaw Brown. No record has been found of the discussion in the legislature apropos of the naming of the county.

T. C. B.

VARIATIONS OF THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN CASS AND CROW WING COUNTIES, 1887–98

In re Crow Wing and Cass Counties, Minnesota.

I am about to prepare a petition for a division of these counties, or rather, to have the southwest corner of Cass County made a part of Crow Wing County. This part of Cass County contains about nineteen sections, and extends from Pine River down to Pillager.

We understand that part of Cass County formerly belonged to Crow Wing County, and we have looked over some Minnesota reports as some of these matters were discussed or decided by the Supreme Court of Minnesota, mainly 23 Minnesota, 40; 64 Minnesota, 378; 66 Minnesota, 519.

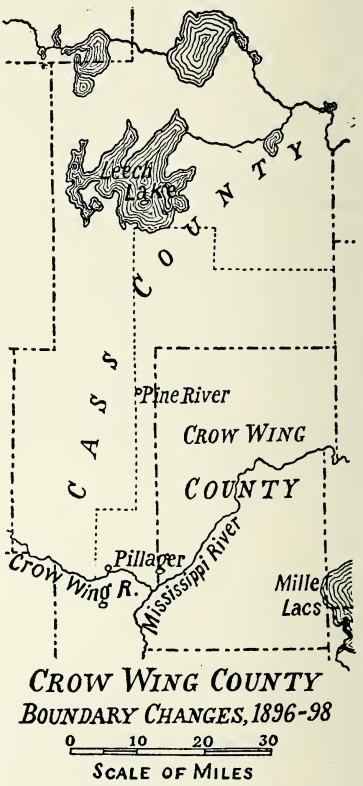
What we would mainly like to know is, since these cases are not very clear on the point, how long this part of Cass County has been a part of Crow Wing County, and we hope you have some record of that fact.

SWANSON AND SWANSON, Lawyers
By HILDING SWANSON, Brainerd

Only the eastern portion of that section of Cass County which "extends from Pine River down to Pillager" has ever been attached to Crow Wing County. In 1896 the latter county annexed portions of Cass County bordering upon its northern and western boundaries. In order to make clear the proceedings by which the annexation was made, however, it is necessary to review something of the history of the counties.

Cass County was established in 1851 and Crow Wing County in 1855. The latter county was organized in 1870, and, in 1872, Cass County was organized. The organization of Cass County was abandoned in 1876, however, and the county re-

mained without organization until 1897. Previous to 1887 the Mississippi River marked the western border of Crow Wing County, but in that year the area of the county was more than doubled by the addition of all the territory now within its borders and west and north of the Mississippi — land which had belonged to the unorganized county of Cass. In 1896, under the provisions of an act approved March 21, 1895, "for the enlargement of organized counties by attaching thereto and incorporating therein territory from an adjoining unorganized county," Crow Wing County again annexed a portion of Cass County. The act is published as chapter 298 of the Minnesota *Laws* for 1895 (p. 696–698).



The act provided that petitions signed by fifty-five per cent of the legal voters of the county wishing to attach territory and by fifty-five per cent of the voters of the "territory proposed to be attached" be presented to the secretary of state. "Then said secretary of state shall at once file said petitions and immediately notify the governor and state auditor of the receipt of the same, and they shall immediately meet and consider said petitions, and if they be found to conform to law, they or a majority of them, shall so certify, and immediately thereupon the governor shall issue his proclamation . . . declaring

the said territory described in said petition detached from the unorganized county or counties of which it was formerly a part and attached to and incorporated within said organized county."

In October and November, 1895, petitions asking for the annexation of certain portions of Cass County to Crow Wing County were circulated in the districts concerned and on November 30 they were presented to the secretary of state. On February 19, 1896, the "state annexation commission" met in the governor's office to act upon the petition. Governor David M. Clough voted against the addition of territory to Crow Wing County, but State Auditor Robert C. Dunn and Secretary of State Albert Berg approved the annexation. The governor thereupon issued his proclamation, which is published in four weekly issues of the *Brainerd Dispatch* beginning February 28. Preliminary proceedings are reported in the issues of the same newspaper for November 1, 1895, and February 21, 1896.

The territory thus annexed to Crow Wing County and described in the governor's proclamation is outlined on the accompanying map by the broken line running through Pine River and touching Leech Lake at the north. This district remained a part of Crow Wing County until January 6, 1898, when, by a decision of the state supreme court in which the procedure by which the annexation had been made was declared illegal, this county was reduced to its former limits and Cass County was again enlarged. The case is recorded in 66 *Minnesota,* 519–535.

B. L. H.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Journal of a Voyage to North America. Translated from the French of Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix; edited with historical introduction, notes, and index, by Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph.D. In two volumes. (Chicago, The Caxton Club, 1923. xxviii, 362, x, 381 p. Map.)

This new edition of Charlevoix's journal, based on the English edition of 1761, is beautifully printed and bound and the editorial notes add much to its interest. Charlevoix's travels in New France and Louisiana during the years from 1720 to 1722 did not bring him to Minnesota, but his narrative presents a valuable picture of French colonial society and its wilderness background and the editor's introduction in this edition sketches the early history of French explorations in the interior. A feature of the introduction of special interest to Minnesota readers is the statement that Du Luth, when at Mille Lacs in 1679, "heard from some visiting Indians of a great body of salt water in the west, which he conceived to be the sea, but which was in all probability the Great Salt Lake. Duluth sent westward three of his men, to search for this reported salt water, who got no farther than Big Stone Lake on the western border of Minnesota" (p. xii). Du Luth's own statement about this expedition is very vague and, if Dr. Kellogg is able to establish her interpretation, she will render an important service to Minnesota history. It is understood that the subject will be dealt with more fully in her forthcoming history of the French régime in Wisconsin.

S. J. B.

The American Livestock and Meat Industry. By Rudolph Alexander Clemen, M.A., Associate Editor, *The National Provisioner;* Formerly Instructor in Economics and History, Northwestern University. (New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1923. ix, 872 p. Illustrations.)

The growth of the livestock and packing industry from the annual hog-killing on the pioneer farm to the status of the largest

industry in the United States, employing in the fields of production and marketing one out of every six workers, "is dramatic in the extreme." The author of the volume under review has caught the spirit of it all, — the vastness of the open range, the noise and smoke of the stockyards, and the relentless pressure which carries the doomed animals from the grazing lands of the country to the ax and cleaver of the slaughter house, — but he marshals his facts and figures with the dispassionate attitude of the economist and historian.

Mr. Clemen recognizes at the outset the vastness of his task and wisely refers his readers to numerous monographs on special phases of his subject through the judicious use of footnotes. A detailed bibliography for each chapter is given in a thirty-page appendix. As a result of the method pursued, the book gives a very satisfactory picture of the livestock and meat industry without being tiresome to the general reader. Minnesota readers might well expect that more attention would be given to the stockyards and packing operations of the great plants at South St. Paul, but the overwhelming size of the Chicago operations has practically driven out of the author's mind the activities of other cities. He evidently considers that a discussion of the smaller markets would be superfluous.

The book is well assembled, carefully edited, supplied with a table of contents and an adequate index, and judiciously illustrated with photographs and charts.

Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr.

Women of Red River, Being a Book Written from the Recollections of Women Surviving from the Red River Era. By W. J. Healy, Provincial Librarian of Manitoba. (Winnipeg, The Women's Canadian Club, 1923. 261 p. Illustrations.)

Though this "Tribute to the Women of An Earlier Day," as the title page characterizes it, relates mainly to a region outside the United States, it deserves mention in this quarterly because of the many passing references which it contains to early conditions and people in Minnesota. The closeness of the ties

between the Red River colony and early St. Paul stands out again and again in casual remarks in these reminiscences of Red River women, as a few examples will indicate. Mrs. William Cowan, daughter of James Sinclair, a prominent merchant in the colony and one doing considerable trade with St. Paul, describes a journey by Red River carts across the plains to St. Paul in the spring of 1848, when she and her sister were on their way to attend Knox College in Illinois. When nearing St. Paul she saw a newly built log cabin. It was the home of that prince of Northwest guides, Pierre Bottineau, solitary dweller where Minneapolis now rises. In 1850 she made the return trip, again through Minnesota, and under great difficulties, for much of the northern country was flooded. At Pembina the travelers found Norman W. Kittson's house almost surrounded by water, and at that point they were obliged to engage boats for the remainder of the journey. The floods prevented Mr. Sinclair from taking his family to Oregon as he had planned when he shipped all his household goods, including a piano, across the plains and down the river to St. Louis. One need not fear contradiction in stating that this was the first piano freighted across Minnesota.

In Mrs. Robert Tait's reminiscences is a description of one of Winnipeg's oldest houses: "'All the oak and walnut woodwork for the house . . . and the sashes and doors and the walnut furniture we had were brought across the plains from St. Paul in Red River Carts.'" Mrs. Robert Henderson, too, mentions the trips which her father made across the prairies to St. Cloud and St. Paul, on one of which, in the late sixties, he procured the first glass lamp owned in the colony.

One of the men most often mentioned in these reminiscences is James W. Taylor, agent and later consul for the United States at Winnipeg. Mrs. Henry D. Macdonald speaks of him as "'Mr. Taylor . . . whom everybody knew.'" It is interesting to find that a man so well known and respected in Minnesota was such an important figure in the pioneer life of Winnipeg. It is also interesting to note how much is made of Whittier's poem, "The Red River Voyageur." Its haunting first lines are certainly among his best, and those describing the St. Boniface bells in their "turrets twain" seem to have expressed for

dwellers along the Red River their emotions at the familiar sight of the beautiful old church. The finest of many fine pen and ink sketches in the volume depicts the cathedral as seen across the stream.

From the point of view of the student it is unfortunate that the book has no index. He should be willing, however, to overlook this flaw in gratitude for the fact that the recollections of these pioneer women have been garnered before it is too late and presented in such fashion that they show, not the glory nor the grandeur, to be sure, but the essence of hardihood and idyllic simplicity that was old Winnipeg and her sister towns on the Red River.

GRACE LEE NUTE

St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press, April 27, 1924. (75th Anniversary Edition — vol. 71, no. 118. 100 p. Illustrations.)

Newspapers may not possess souls, but there is no doubt that they have personalities, according to Miss Lucy M. Salmon, the author of an exhaustive treatise on *The Newspaper and the Historian.* Not only does the newspaper have a personality but it also is a force in the life of the community which it serves. It is therefore an entirely natural thing for those who are vitally interested in a paper to trace its history in relation to the locality and the state, to write its biography, as it were. Several eastern newspapers — for example, the *New York Times* — have recently been the subjects of adequate historical accounts published in book form. Many newspapers in the West have celebrated significant anniversaries of their founding by publishing special historical editions. One of the most notable recent Minnesota publications of this type is the "75th Anniversary Edition" of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press.*

The *Pioneer Press* comes honestly by its name, for it has the honor of being the direct descendant of the first newspaper published in Minnesota, James M. Goodhue's *Minnesota Pioneer.* Its history runs parallel with that of Minnesota from 1849 to the present and is worthy of a somewhat more ambitious treatment than that afforded in an anniversary edition of the paper. In fact, a book dealing in comprehensive and scholarly fashion

with the story of this newspaper would be a genuine contribution to Minnesota history. By tracing the story of the paper's development, by analyzing its relation to the cultural life of the state, by recounting its political history, by scrutinizing its connections with the economic transitions since 1849, by studying its record of social life in Minnesota's capital, and by drawing upon its files for illustrations of conditions in other days, one could produce a book of exceptional interest which might illuminate the process by which Minnesota conditions of today have come to be what they are.

The anniversary edition under review does not take the place of such a volume; it does not contain a comprehensive history of the *Pioneer Press,* presented with due regard to orderly sequence; but it does direct attention to the possibilities of the subject, and it includes a number of articles of very considerable value. The place of honor is naturally given to a history of the *Pioneer Press* — a narrative in which the names of Goodhue, Joseph R. Brown, Earle S. Goodrich, Joseph A. Wheelock, Frederick Driscoll, Webster Wheelock, George Thompson, and C. K. Blandin figure prominently. Changes in newspaper management and details of personnel are not easily traced outside the offices of publication, and this account will therefore be welcomed by students interested in the history of the state's press. If this somewhat formal account could be combined with a study of the editorial policies of the paper through seventy-five years and a general evaluation of the paper's influence in the community, it would possess greatly increased value. Another useful article gives a detailed review of the contents of the first issue of Goodhue's *Pioneer.* Its record of territorial politics and its quaint advertisements call up for the reader vivid pictures of frontier social life. The contents of Goodhue's first issue are chiefly important as an indication of what the files of the paper for the early period contain.

Stories of pioneer conditions, most of which have been often told, are scattered throughout the edition. Incidents in river transportation are recalled by two veteran steamboat men in St. Paul, Captain Fred A. Bill and Captain George Winans.

The development of railroads under the guidance of James J. Hill is the subject of a long article. The story of the growth of the city as a jobbing center since 1855 and accounts of St. Paul business firms which trace their origins to pioneer days appear. The beginnings of the St. Paul school system and of police and fire protection for the city are touched upon. An article in the society section of the paper reflects in an interesting manner the unexpected brilliance and refinement of the social life of St. Paul as a frontier community. On the first page of this section a charming portrait of Mrs. A. P. Moss, which was painted in the fifties, is reproduced; pictures of James M. Goodhue and his bride are also included. In the rotogravure section portions of the first issue of the *Pioneer* are reproduced and some early views of St. Paul, including a picture of Red River carts on Third Street in 1859 and one of the steamboat landing in 1872, are published. These illustrations are excellent. By all means let the hypothetical book, to which reference has been made, be illustrated.

The student of history is primarily interested in newspapers as sources of information and therefore to him the files of a paper are of infinitely more value and interest than any formal history of the paper could be. Indeed one scholar has recently pronounced the periodical press the "most important single source the historian has at his command for the reconstruction of the life of the past three centuries." But these repositories of historical data have also been an influential part of the past which they record, and it is distinctly worth while for them occasionally to review their own history. Anniversary editions have great possibilities. Let us hope that in a few cases they may be the stepping stones to published volumes intended as serious contributions to Minnesota history.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The most notable development in connection with the work of the society during the past three months is the appearance of the second volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*, the regular edition of which came from the press late in May. The special edition, copies of which are to be autographed by Dr. Folwell, were received from the printer in June. Copies of the book were distributed to members of the society soon after they were received. A review of the work will be published in the next number of the BULLETIN.

A full report of the third annual state historical convention, which was held at Detroit, Minnesota, on June 20 and 21, will appear in the November number of the BULLETIN. It is interesting to note that the summer meetings of 1922, 1923, and 1924, have been held in northeastern, southwestern, and northwestern Minnesota respectively. In all probability the fourth state historical convention will be held in some city situated in the southeastern section of the state.

Seventeen Minnesota counties and three other states are represented among the fifty-three additions to the active membership of the society during the three months ending June 30. These additions bring the total to 1,269. A list of names of the new members, grouped by counties, follows:

BECKER: Herman Goebel, Nels T. Jahren, and Dr. Leonard C. Weeks of Detroit; and Mrs. Sidney J. Huntley, Cecil M. Jones, and Arthur D. White of Frazee.

BROWN: Fred P. Starr of New Ulm.

FARIBAULT: Anita Fowler of Winnebago.

GOODHUE: Peter S. Aslakson and Dr. Samuel T. Conley of Cannon Falls.

HENNEPIN: Dr. Charles R. Drake, William W. Gilbert, Paul de Hoffman, John F. McGovern, Ray P. Murphy, Mrs. Louise R. Phelps, John R. Randall, Oscar L. Schutz, George M.

Schwartz, Mrs. James Thurston, and Mrs. Cavour L. Truesdale, all of Minneapolis.

JACKSON: Joseph N. Prokes of Jackson.

LYON: Marvin E. Mathews of Marshall.

MCLEOD: Joseph M. Eheim of Hutchinson.

MARSHALL: Dr. Theodor Bratrud of Warren.

OLMSTED: Dr. Herman C. Bumpus, William W. Churchill, Job T. Collin, Harry J. Harwick, and John H. Kahler, all of Rochester.

POLK: Dr. Truman L. Stickney of Crookston.

RAMSEY: Frederick J. Alway, Ralph Budd, Eugene P. Danz, Reverend Fritz C. Hamlin, Everett B. Kirk, George F. Lindsay, Thomas J. McDermott, Mrs. Henry Nichols, Robert A. Rice, Dr. Arthur Sweeney, John W. Taylor, and James H. Wilkinson, all of St. Paul.

REDWOOD: Dr. H. M. Juergens of Sanborn.

ST. LOUIS: Edward W. Johnson of Floodwood and Dr. Owen W. Parker of Ely.

STEARNS: Reverend Cuthbert Goeb of Collegeville.

STEELE: Francis W. Sawyer of Owatonna.

WINONA: Willard L. Hillyer of Winona.

NONRESIDENT: Mrs. Charles N. Nelson of Santa Barbara, California; L. S. Conger of Medford, Massachusetts; Susan H. Olmstead of New York City; and Fendall G. Winston, Jr., of Old Forge, New York.

One institutional member, the Becker County Historical Society, Dr. Leonard C. Weeks, president, has been enrolled during the last quarter.

The society lost six active members by death during the last quarter: John A. Berkey of Lake City, April 4; Mrs. Henry P. Barlow of St. Paul, April 18; Edward M. Van Cleve of Minneapolis, April 19; Mrs. Thomas Cochran of St. Paul, May 22; Dr. Walter Courtney of Brainerd, June 23; and James A. Ridgway of Minneapolis, June 25. The death of the Honorable Charles C. Willson of Rochester, an active member, on November 1, 1922, has not previously been reported in the BULLETIN.

The number of subscriptions to the society's publications from schools and public libraries has been increased to 144 by the addition of three institutions during the last quarter. These include the public library of Madison and the public schools of Brown's Valley and Cass Lake.

"Some Fur-traders of Early Minnesota" was the title of the twelfth talk in the monthly series given by representatives of the society at the Twin City radio station WLAG. This was given on April 21 by Dr. Grace Lee Nute, the society's curator of manuscripts. On May 20, Miss Mary E. Wheelhouse, who has served as the society's chief editorial assistant in the preparation for the press of Dr. Folwell's second volume, spoke on "Glimpses of Minnesota in the '60's" as revealed in that book. The subject of the fourteenth talk, "The Red River Valley in Minnesota History," given on June 16 by Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, assistant superintendent of the society, was chosen in order to call special attention to the historical background of the region in which the third state historical convention was to be held.

Several speeches on the society's work or on historical subjects were given by members of the society's staff during the months of April, May, and June. The superintendent delivered the commencement address at the graduation exercises on May 29 of the Belgrade High School. On April 28 the assistant superintendent addressed the Hamline Fortnightly Study Club of St. Paul at its annual luncheon on the subject, "The Minnesota Pattern: An Interpretation," and on May 17 he spoke on "The Winning of Constitutional Liberty in Norway" to the faculty and students of Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis. The curator of the museum gave a speech entitled "An Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History" in the society's auditorium before the members of the Hamline Fortnightly Study Club on April 7. He represented the society at the Hibbing meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society on April 22 (see *post,* p. 524).

Two members of the society's staff, Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent, and Dr. Grace L. Nute, curator of manuscripts, attended the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Louisville, Kentucky, on May 1 to 3. From Louisville Dr. Nute went to Indianapolis to examine the Ewing Papers at the Indiana State Library, a collection of manuscripts which, in her opinion, is "of extreme importance for Minnesota history" as a supplement to the papers of the American Fur Company (see *post,* p. 505). She then visited Urbana, Illinois, primarily for the purpose of inspecting a collection of transcripts from Spanish archives which has been made for the University of Illinois. From Illinois Dr. Nute went to Madison, Wisconsin, where she visited the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

A series of brief articles under the general heading of "Minnesota Trail Blazers" is appearing in the society's monthly press bulletin, the *Minnesota Historical News.* Accounts of the following explorers have already been included: La Perrière, Le Sueur, La Vérendrye, Hennepin's companions (Accault and Auguelle), Catlin, Cass, and Nicollet.

The coöperation of the society and the University of Minnesota was stressed in a series of articles published in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for May 1 under the titles, "The Historical Society and the University," "Educational Work of the Society," "A Library of Priceless Books and Papers," and "Two Volumes of Dr. Folwell's History Completed."

Many were the uses made of the society's library during the months of April, May, and June. Requests for information were received relating to such varied subjects as Indian legends of Minnesota; Dakota names for plants; the state's iron mines; the location of Lake Memphremagog; the number of Norwegians in Minnesota during the period from 1860 to 1920; the history of the Minnesota Historical Society; third party movements in the West; prominent Minnesotans such as James J. Hill, Knute Nelson, Cushman K. Davis, Charlotte Van Cleve, Maria Sanford, and Alexander Ramsey; the history of Shakopee; and the his-

tory of Hamline University; not to speak of the philosophy of Plato, the Spanish Inquisition, and numerous other subjects which have little or nothing to do with Minnesota history. In some cases the resources of the main library need to be supplemented by manuscripts in order to give the desired information. For example, an inquirer wished to know which was the colder day, January 1, 1863, or January 1, 1864. A manuscript record of Minnesota temperatures furnished an exact answer to this question. During the three months ending June 30, 12,695 books were served in the library to 2,035 readers as compared with 10,102 books and 1,971 readers during the corresponding three months of 1923.

That the society's newspaper collection is of value for several interesting types of investigation is evident from the fact that during the three months ending June 30, 315 readers consulted 772 volumes of newspapers. Of these readers, 217 were engaged in historical research, 8 were searching for items needed in connection with legal investigation, 17 were hunting for material which had to do with the political situation in the state, and 75 were in search of materials for other purposes.

During the months of April, May, and June, 1,449 teachers and students representing 51 classes visited the society's museum. Of this total, 975 were from St. Paul, 228 from Minneapolis, and 246 from points outside the Twin Cities. These figures indicate that advantage is being taken by the schools of the direct visual appeal which the museum makes to students.

In connection with the compilation of a bibliography of Minnesota newspapers and an inventory of extant files, which is being carried on in coöperation with the University of Minnesota (see *ante*, p. 302), Mr. Bryce E. Lehman, a graduate student of the university, has made several trips recently to different parts of the state for the purpose of collecting data. For the following fifteen counties the work is now approaching completion: Anoka, Blue Earth, Dakota, Freeborn, Goodhue, Le Sueur, Morrison, Nicollet, Olmsted, Otter Tail, Scott, Todd, Wabasha, Wadena, and Winona. Incidentally Mr. Lehman, on his trips,

located duplicate files in some of the newspaper offices, from which it is believed selections can be made to fill gaps in the society's files.

The first chapter in the second volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota* is reprinted in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 4 under the title "How Minnesota Annexed the United States Told by Dr. Folwell on State's Birthday." A feature story entitled "Minnesota's Own Home-made War of Rebellion," in the *Journal* for June 8, which tells the story of the "Wright County War" of 1859, is based on the account of that event in the same volume.

Two members of the staff, Miss Gertrude Krausnick, librarian, and Miss Clara M. Penfield, cataloguer, attended the meeting of the American Library Association at Saratoga Springs, New York, from June 30 to July 5.

The position of head cataloguer on the society's staff, which has been vacant since February 1, has been filled by the appointment of Miss Alice M. Humiston, who has held a similar position in the library of Montana University. In the meantime Miss Clara M. Penfield of the catalogue staff has directed the work of the department.

Accessions

Photostatic copies of a number of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice of Montreal have recently been added to the society's collection of material from that source and other Montreal depositories (see *ante,* p. 305–307). These papers relate to the fur trade and to Jonathan Carver and the enterprise of seeking a northwest passage to the Pacific. They include petitions from Montreal merchants requesting that licenses be granted more freely than had been the case in the past to traders desiring to winter in the Indian country; replies to these petitions from Sir William Johnson, Robert Rogers, the governor of the province of Quebec, and others concerned in matters of Indian trade; and some other correspondence of value for students of

the fur trade which centered at Montreal and Mackinac after the close of the Seven Years' War.

About three thousand cards for American Fur Company Papers have been received by the society during the months of April, May, and June from the agent in New York who is calendaring this important collection of manuscripts (see *ante,* p. 457). Many of these cards are for the letters to Ramsay Crooks from the St. Louis firms of Pratte, Chouteau and Company and Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company. Since these firms were interested in the Minnesota fur trade and since men like Henry H. Sibley and Martin McLeod worked under the direction of one of them, these letters are of considerable value for students of Minnesota history. The society has also received photostatic copies of several groups of these papers of special Minnesota interest, including letters of Lyman M. Warren, one of the foremost traders in Wisconsin and Minnesota under the American Fur Company régime; letters of William A. Aitken, who for many years was the company's factor in the Minnesota region, with headquarters at Sandy Lake; additional letters of Gabriel Franchère (see *ante,* p. 458); and some of the letters of William Brewster, who was the company's general agent at Detroit. A letter from James Warren to his brother Lyman has been received for copying from the Becker County Historical Society and two letters written by Lyman Warren have been received from his daughter, Mrs. Julia Spears of Detroit, together with several papers of family interest written by Mrs. Spears.

The most interesting and valuable item in a small group of papers once in the possession of Levi W. Stratton, a pioneer storekeeper of St. Anthony, which have recently been presented to the society by his daughter, Miss Ella M. Stratton of Excelsior, is a paper entitled "Sketches & Incidents of a Trip from St. Louis to Fort Snellin[g] in July 1838." Although this paper is incomplete, it contains much interesting information about the river traffic, the Indians, and the river towns. The

other items of the group consist chiefly of bills and receipts of early St. Paul and St. Anthony firms.

In the study of the settlement of an American frontier, baptismal registers are very useful to the historian. Hence one of the services which historical societies can render is to make known the location of such records and to transcribe them when necessary. Recently an opportunity to perform a service of this kind has been afforded the society. In June, 1914, the Reverend John F. Kempker, assistant priest of St. Patrick Church in Dubuque, Iowa, made careful transcripts of many items in the original baptismal register of St. Raphael's Cathedral in Dubuque. Through the courtesy of the Reverend William Busch of St. Paul Seminary, an opportunity to make copies of these valuable records has been given to the society. Of chief interest to Minnesotans are the records of baptisms by Bishop Loras of Dubuque while on an early trip to the Minnesota and Wisconsin region. On his visit to St. Peter's in 1839 he baptized no less than forty-nine persons; at "St. Crois" he baptized four, and at Prairie du Chien nineteen. In the absence of birth records these lists of names are of great value.

Copies of four letters written by Madison Sweetser in October, 1851, to the Indiana fur-trading firm of W. G. and G. W. Ewing, from the Ewing Papers in the possession of the Indiana State Library at Indianapolis, have recently been received by the society (see *ante,* p. 501). Sweetser acted as agent in Minnesota for the Ewing firm. His interests were opposed to those of Ramsey and Sibley in the matter of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux and his comments on that treaty are of great interest. Another topic touched on in the letters is the advantage to be gained from securing an early claim in the Fort Snelling reserve. "I assure you," writes Sweetser to G. W. Ewing, "that it would result in a handsome speculation — this at no distant day is destined to be, the garden spot of America." Copies of other letters in the Ewing collection will soon be made for the society.

A considerable part of a collection of family papers presented to the society by Mrs. Louise Fridley Dye of Minneapolis is made up of the diaries, letters, and other papers of her grandfather, Abram M. Fridley, a prominent pioneer who settled at Long Prairie in 1851 as agent for the Winnebago Indians. Later he was a farmer at Manomin and still later he opened a large farm in the southwestern part of Sherburne County. The Fridley home was the county seat of the diminutive Manomin County, which was established in 1857 and became, after its fusion with Anoka County some thirteen years later, Fridley Township. This material in the Fridley Papers throws light on the brief existence of Minnesota's smallest county. The collection, which comprises six boxes of loose manuscripts and more than sixty bound volumes, includes other more recent family papers.

Within the last few years students of the history of the Northwest have come to realize the value of missionaries' diaries, letters, and reminiscences for accounts of the obscure origins of many settlements and organizations in the region. One of the latest contributions to the ever-increasing fund of such information is the reminiscences of Mr. Frank B. Cressey of Cambridge, Massachusetts, whose father, E. W. Cressey, came to St. Paul as a Baptist minister in 1852 and remained as pastor and home missionary until he enlisted in the army as chaplain of the Second Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War. Much information about St. Paul and about persons and events of interest in early Minnesota is contained in the reminiscences, which, in manuscript form, have been presented to the society. A description of the eventful and often hazardous life of a home missionary in the years just preceding the Civil War gives the document the flavor of adventure which characterizes the accounts of practically all the early Minnesota missionaries.

"Minnesota and Dacotah, or the Red-River of the North; With an account of the Rich and Fertile country along its banks in Minnesota and Dacotah" is a title of a manuscript by Increase A. Lapham, of Milwaukee, owned by the State Historical Society

of Wisconsin, of which a transcript has recently been secured. In its typed form it consists of 208 pages, including a few photostatic copies of maps and diagrams. For its early account of the Red River Valley its value is very considerable. Lapham himself made a tour in 1857 of a large portion of the valley and he quotes long extracts from the records of other travelers who knew the region at first hand. The document gives an historical sketch of the valley, a topographical sketch, a long list of its flora and fauna, and an estimate of its value for settlement. In closing Lapham mentions some of the towns that were springing up and gives advice to prospective settlers. He evidently was "booming" certain towns, and this entire work, which was written in 1858, was arranged for publication with that end in view. It seems to have remained unprinted, however. On the whole it is an unusually accurate and reliable account of the region. An interesting biographical sketch of its author appears in volume 1 of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* (p. 3–15) under the title "Increase A. Lapham, First Scholar of Wisconsin," by Milo M. Quaife.

Some twenty letters, mainly of the fifties and sixties, have been added by Mr. Ulysses G. Herrick of Minneapolis to the collection of family letters recently presented by him to the society (see *ante,* p. 459).

The Civil War diary of Sergeant Matthew Marvin, Company K, First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, together with about sixty of his war letters, has been presented to the society by his daughter, Miss Mabel L. Marvin of Winona.

Those who are interested in knowing the airs to which some of the Union troops marched to battle can gain some hints from the titles of the scores for the snare drum written out in William W. Woodberry's manuscript music book kept at Fort Snelling during the Civil War period and now presented to the society by Mrs. George E. Tuttle of Minneapolis.

Diaries kept faithfully day by day are reckoned among the most valuable historical documents, not only because of their de-

tail, but also because of their accuracy and honesty. A little diary kept by Captain Loren W. Collins on Sibley's expedition against the Sioux in 1863 and presented recently by his sons, Messrs. Stewart and Louis L. Collins of Minneapolis, carries the story of the expedition from its start at Camp Pope on June 16, 1863, through all its tedious marches, exciting buffalo chases, and encounters with Indians, with glimpses of an untamed and almost unknown region, and back to Fort Snelling on September 12. It is an excellent supplement to several other manuscript diaries kept on expeditions against the Indians or across the plains in the sixties and now preserved by the society.

Mr. Edward E. Ayer of Chicago, the founder of the famous Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, has presented to the society a copy of his reminiscences, in which he tells how he crossed the plains to California in 1860, worked in the mines, enlisted and served in the army during the Civil War, and returned to Illinois in 1864. Mr. Ayer's interest in book collecting was awakened through the reading of Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* while in command of a force guarding the Sierra Colorado silver mine, fifty-five miles south of Tucson.

An account of early St. Cloud and Sauk Rapids and items of interest on logging methods and loggers on the Mississippi and its branches are to be found in the reminiscences of Mr. Wright T. Orcutt of Minneapolis, entitled "Fifty-eight Years in Minnesota," which he has recently presented to the society. Mr. Orcutt, who came to the state in 1866, has a remarkable memory for names, and his lists of pioneers, lumbering concerns, and business men are of distinct value for the study of local history in the region with which he deals.

The diary of Frank Johnson, a copy of which has been received from Mrs. Lily E. Dix of Detroit, covers the period from March 26, 1871, to March 28, 1872, and tells of the varied experiences of a man who came to Minnesota to find work; lived for a time in Duluth and in Brainerd; served as a telegraph operator at Crow Wing, where he became acquainted with Indians and old

traders and saw a grand medicine dance and a game of lacrosse; and moved to Detroit Lake and thence to Otter Tail City, Oake Lake, and Bethel in front of the advancing tracks of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Johnson was in Moorhead when the first engine entered that town and he tells in his diary about the celebration which accompanied that event.

To the society's collection of papers of Stanford Newel, United States minister to the Netherlands from 1897 to 1905, which include valuable materials on the first peace conference at the Hague (see *ante,* 4: 169), Mr. David W. Morison of St. Paul has added recently Newel's diplomas from Yale University as bachelor and master of arts.

An account of the life of Joseph Pecore, written by Mr. Cotter Randall of Duluth, has been presented to the society by the author. Pecore, who died in Duluth on November 15, 1923, was born in New York state in 1820 of French and Canadian stock. As a lad of fifteen he accompanied his father on a canoe voyage from Montreal to the Red River settlement. The return trip by snowshoes overland to Sault Ste. Marie was made the following winter under great difficulties. In 1862 Pecore again came west, this time drawn by the lure of the Caribou "diggins" in British Columbia. He arrived at Georgetown, on the Red River, in time to join a northward-bound train of emigrants. Threats from Sioux Indians caused the procession to turn back, however, and to seek the shelter of Fort Abercrombie. Pecore returned to Canada, but in 1869 he succeeded in getting to the Pacific coast. In 1870 he settled in Barron County, Wisconsin, where he became a successful farmer. Mr. Randall's article is based upon Pecore's own recollections, at the age of 103, of his varied experiences.

Some interesting material representing the participation of Minnesota men in the Civil War has recently been added to the society's collection of military objects. The uniform coat, canteen, bayonet and scabbard, and cap box of Sergeant Matthew Marvin of Company K, First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry,

have been presented by his daughter, Miss Mabel Marvin of Winona; and a silk flag made by ladies of the Twin Cities for Company A, Second United States Sharpshooters, has been presented by Mrs. J. A. Gansett of Evansville, whose father, David Owens of Anoka, was mustered out as captain of that company.

To the society's collection of objects illustrating the history of American domestic life have been added an antique walnut washstand, presented by Mrs. Florence Belcher of Minneapolis through the courtesy of Mrs. E. C. Chatfield; a haircloth-covered walnut divan and an old clock, given by Mr. Christ Arnold of St. Paul; a blue Staffordshire washbowl and pitcher, a painted wooden hatbox of 1866, and several other articles presented by Mrs. George E. Tuttle of Minneapolis; a patchwork quilt of 1853 for a child's crib, a quilted evening wrap of 1871, and other interesting items presented by Miss Minnesota Neill of Minneapolis; a number of horn and tortoise-shell snuff boxes, a large brass kettle, and other articles given by Mrs. Louise Fridley Dye of Minneapolis; and a copper teakettle, several pieces of china, and a match safe, given by Mrs. G. C. Lambert of Bethel.

Reminiscent of the days of the fur trade and the conquest of the wilderness is a huge iron bear trap which has been received from Mr. Nelson Flint of North St. Paul and Mrs. May Jenkins. The jaws of the trap are lined with iron spikes.

Recent additions to the society's portrait collection include framed oil portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Abram M. Fridley, pioneer settlers of Manomin, — later named Fridley in their honor, — presented by Mrs. Dye (see *ante,* p. 506); and framed oil portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Simpson, early settlers of Winona, presented by their son, Mr. George T. Simpson of Minneapolis.

A framed sepia drawing of Fort Snelling about 1875, which represents the old post after the watch tower and much of the stone wall surrounding it had been removed but before the construction of the wagon bridge across the Mississippi, is the gift of Dr. Arthur Sweeney of St. Paul.

A gift of about sixty books has been received from Mrs. Nathaniel P. Langford of St. Paul, whose husband was president of the society from 1905 to 1911. The collection is indicative of Mr. Langford's interest in western exploration and includes a number of rarities. One of these, of which the society possessed no copy previously, is the *Message from the President of the United States Communicating Discoveries Made . . . by Captains Lewis and Clark* (Washington, 1806) — the first book relating to the Lewis and Clark expedition. Another item is a typewritten booklet entitled, "Table of Distances on the Missouri River from Fort Benton, Montana, to Saint Louis. Compiled by J. Allen Hosmer. Virginia City, Montana. 1866." From another source the society has acquired a small group of papers of Mr. Langford, the most important of which is a diary kept by him in Montana in 1863. The terse entries in this diary give vivid glimpses of the wild life on the mining frontier in the sixties.

NEWS AND COMMENT

In Mr. Arthur D. White's article in the present issue of the BULLETIN an excellent presentation is made of the case for teaching Minnesota history in the high schools of the state. Whether the desired end be achieved by one method or by another is relatively unimportant. It will doubtless be a long time before many high schools follow the example of the Frazee school in offering special courses in state history. A considerable number of teachers, however, are already attempting to correlate Minnesota history and national history in the general American history courses. This appeal to the natural interest of the student in his own background and in the environment with which he is familiar is of course pedagogically sound. But it is important to make it clear that the teaching of state history does more than merely add an element of interest. The study of local history is in accord with the general trend of American historiography at the present day — that trend for which Professor Frederick J. Turner and his disciples are in part responsible. The state does not occupy a position of splendid isolation but is intimately related to the larger area of which it is a natural part. Its political boundaries were originally artificial. To make the students understand that they are indeed part of the nation — as they are part of the world community — is a legitimate aim of the history teacher. The one-semester course in American history offers little opportunity for the teacher to go beyond the conventional story, but the present tendency is in the direction of a year course, and when this plan is generally adopted the correlation of American and Minnesota history should become general throughout the high schools of the state.

A suggestive brief statement of "The Present Status of Historical Writing in the United States," by Homer C. Hockett, appears in the *Ohio History Teachers' Journal* for January, 1924. In the March and May numbers of the same magazine is printed a series of four articles dealing with the *Chronicles of*

America series and the "Chronicles of America Photoplays" — Yale University's ambitious attempt to clothe American history in attractive dress and to present it to the multitudes. Special attention is given to the value of the photoplays for the teaching of American history. The articles are entitled "The Story of the Chronicles of America," by George P. Day, "The Chronicles of America in Motion Pictures," by Nathaniel W. Stephenson, "The Chronicles of America and the Teaching of History," by Ralph H. Gabriel, and "The Use of the 'Chronicles of America Motion Pictures' in Americanization," by Dixon R. Fox.

At the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held in Louisville, Kentucky, on May 1, 2, and 3, Dr. Milo M. Quaife, formerly superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and now in charge of the Burton Historical Collection at the Detroit Public Library, was elected managing editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.* Among the papers presented at the sessions were the following which dealt with topics of interest for Minnesota history: "The Marketing of Farm Implement Machinery, 1830–1860," by W. W. Leigh; "Points of Contact between History and Literature in the Mississippi Valley," by Dorothy Dondore; and "Origin of the Federal Department of Agriculture and of our State Agricultural Colleges," by Lyman Carrier.

The dedication of the William L. Clements Library of Americana at the University of Michigan on June 15, 1923, has resulted in a volume of proceedings which takes its title from the principal speech of the occasion, *The American Historian's Raw Materials: An Address,* by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson (Ann Arbor, 1923. 63 p.), in which the story of the assembling of collections of manuscripts and books of American history is sketched. With reference to recent historical work, Dr. Jameson writes, "In the main, the work of the last sixty years has consisted in the accumulation, sifting, and criticism of materials, work of the pick and spade, work of the quarryman and mason rather than of the architect. . . . After such an age . . . the

natural development is into an age of generalization, of synthesis, of history more largely governed and informed by general ideas." In an article on "The Shelburne Manuscripts in America," published in the February *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research, Dr. Clarence W. Alvord draws attention to the great importance for students of the later colonial period of the collection of Shelburne Papers recently acquired by the Clements Library. The papers are of special value for the study of the Mississippi Valley in its relation to British politics in the period preceding the American Revolution. The Clements Library contains a remarkable collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, and the like, assembled by a private collector, Mr. William L. Clements, and by him presented, along with an appropriate library building, to the University of Michigan. A delightful account of the collection, which covers the field of American history from the discovery down to the Revolution, has recently been published by Mr. Clements under the title *The William L. Clements Library of Americana* (Ann Arbor, 1923. 228 p.). Students of American history are keenly appreciative of the service rendered by this public-spirited book-lover whose enthusiasm and wealth have been directed into so useful a channel.

An informing paper on the "Evolution in Paper Money in the United States," by Dr. William W. Folwell, appears in the *Minnesota Law Review* for June.

Under the somewhat indefinite title, *North America in Days of Discovery* (Boston, 1923. 277 p.), Dr. A. J. Fynn of Denver University has produced an interesting book on the physical background of American history, the American Indians, and their interrelations. Chapters on the influence of the fauna and flora of the continent on aboriginal life are followed by a discussion of primitive methods of travel and transportation, with special reference to the influence of the environment. The greater part of the book, however, is devoted to accounts of Indian life in the various culture areas of the continent from "The Arctic Borderland" to "The American Egypt."

The relation of the United States government to missionary activities among the Indians with special reference to the period after 1862 is considered in an article entitled "A Problem of Church and State in the 1870's," by Martha L. Edwards, which is published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June. The author characterizes the federal act of 1871, the distinctive feature of which was "the plan of conferring upon religious bodies the right of nomination to civil office," as "a logical application of the precedent established fifty years earlier, when Calhoun as secretary of war had decided to expend the funds provided for Indian civilization through missionary societies." The article contains a number of references to the situation in Minnesota after the Sioux Outbreak.

"We were Caesars 'mong the mighty Sioux" is the opening line of the second stanza of a poem entitled "Groseilliers and Radisson," by Charles N. Webb, which is printed in the *Wisconsin Magazine* for May.

An interesting survey of the exploration of the northwestern part of North America comprises a lecture entitled "Western Trails and Pathfinders," by Lawrence J. Burpee, published in the *Reports and Proceedings* of the Kingston (Ontario) Historical Society for 1923. Of special Minnesota interest are the accounts of the La Vérendryes, the two Alexander Henrys, and David Thompson, who are dealt with at some length.

A study of "The Geography of the Northern Interior of the United States" by Helen M. Strong, is printed in the *Journal of Geography* for April.

Social conditions among middle western frontiersmen in the fifties are discussed in two articles in the *Palimpsest* for May, entitled "Hard Times in Early Iowa," by George F. Robeson, and "Stagecoach Days," by Orville F. Grahame.

The Lake Superior country is much in favor just now with writers of that ambiguous variety of books classified as "travels." *We Explore the Great Lakes,* by Webb Waldron (New York,

1923. 384 p.), contains much of Minnesota interest, including chapters on Duluth, the iron mines, and "Up the North Shore." *The Lake Superior Country,* by T. Morris Longstreth (New York, 1924. 360 p.), deals mainly with Canadian regions but includes an account of brief visits to Duluth and Grand Portage. Both works are illustrated, the former with sketches by Marion P. Waldron and the latter with excellent photographs. Neither author knows much about the history of the Northwest or is interested in any except its spectacular or romantic aspects. Nevertheless the books have a very real value for the student of the history of the region dealt with, for they furnish him with vivid impressions of the natural environment and they indicate what has been the outcome of that history to date.

An interesting addition to the records of steamboat traffic on the upper Mississippi is the account of the career of Captain George S. Hays in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 25. Captain Hays, whose portrait appears with the article, was connected with river traffic from the close of the Civil War until his death in 1894.

A study of agrarian political activity in the United States since the World War appears under the title "The American Farmer Enters Politics," by Elmer D. Graper, in *Current History* for February. The article includes a brief account of the "Rise of Farmer Labor Party."

Scandinavia (see *ante,* p. 465) continues to bring out articles of interest for the history of the Scandinavians in the United States. "The Tragedy of the Immigrant" with his devotion to his mother country and his adopted land is the theme of an article in the May number by Kristian Prestgard, translated from the Norwegian by Knut Gjerset. The author takes the view that to promote "the process of Americanization by force and coercion is as impossible and unnatural as to pass a law that this year all the young apple trees planted shall grow at least twelve feet." In the same number are articles on "The Swedes in Canada," by Axel V. Carlson, "The Finns in America," by Clemens Niemi, and "Two American Legends of Ole Bull," by

Albert O. Barton. In the June number there is an article entitled "On the Pioneer Trail of the Northwest: The Dagmar Colony," by Emil F. Madsen, which tells of a Danish settlement in Montana. An account of the "History of the Swedish Settlement at Proctor, Vermont," is contributed by Otto T. Johnson. Mr. Halldor Hermannsson tells about "The Fiske Icelandic Collection in Cornell University."

An interesting appeal to Norwegians to preserve the old letters received from emigrants in America is made in an article entitled "Ta Vare Paa Amerika-brevene" by Gunnar Malmin, published in *Nordmands-Forbundet* for February. The author tells of some of the interesting "America letters" which he has located in Norwegian archives. The most interesting of all, he says, is a letter by Gjert G. Hovland written from Rochester, New York, on April 22, 1835, a copy of which Mr. Malmin found in the royal archives. An English translation of this letter, noted in the "News and Comment" section of the BULLETIN for August–November, 1922, was published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June, 1922, and a transcription of the original is among the manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society.

A contribution to the history of the Norwegian element in the United States is made in an article on "Knud Henderson — Pioneer Norwegian Music Teacher," by Albert O. Barton, published in the *Wisconsin State Journal* of Madison for June 29. Much of the story, which relates to pioneer life in Wisconsin and Illinois, is told in Mr. Henderson's own words.

Plans are being made for a celebration at the Minnesota State Fair grounds from June 7 to 9, 1925, of the centennial of the arrival in America of the Norwegian immigrants who crossed the Atlantic in 1825 on the sloop "Restaurationen," settled in western New York, and paved the way for later Norwegian immigration to America.

A collection of *Documents Relating to the Erection of Wayne County and Michigan Territory* (Detroit, 1922–1923 [*sic*]. 45 p.) has been "printed by authority of the board of supervisors

for the county of Wayne, in accordance with act no. 254, Michigan Public Acts, 1919." The fact that it was prepared for publication by the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library is a guaranty of careful work; and its designation as *Historical Publications of Wayne County, Michigan,* numbers 1 and 2, indicates that more may be expected. When such official support of local historical work becomes general throughout the country the way will be prepared for an adequate interpretation of the history of the American people.

Attention is called to several groups of papers in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library which throw light upon the fur trade and other activities of the British period in the Great Lakes region in an article entitled "'Who Was Who' in Michigan, 1760–1796," by "L. O. W.," in the *Michigan History Magazine* for April. "The papers of John Porteous, a Scotchman, from Perth, for the few years following 1762, are a cinema of life on the Great Lakes."

"The Northwestern Career of Jefferson Davis," by Milo M. Quaife, and "Commerce and Union Sentiment in the Northwest in 1860," by A. H. Kohlmier, are two of the papers in the *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1923 (368 p.). A considerable portion of the volume is devoted to a reprint of a rare book entitled *Sketches of the History of Stephenson County, Ill., and Incidents Connected with the Early Settlement of the North-west,* by William J. Johnston, which was published at Freeport in 1854.

An article on "Nelson Powell Hulst, 'The Greatest American Authority on Iron,'" by Ellis B. Usher, published in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June, is of interest to Minnesota readers because Hulst was a mining engineer of Wisconsin who was for a time general manager of the Oliver Mining Company and "then general manager in charge of the Carnegie mining interests in all five iron ranges of the Lake Superior country." When he retired from active work in 1904 he was a vice president of the United States Steel Corporation. An article on "Ole

Bull and His Wisconsin Contacts," by Albert O. Barton, appears in the same magazine.

In a pageant on June 2 the history of the Wisconsin State Normal School at River Falls was pictured against a background of St. Croix Valley history. The pageant was the chief feature of the celebration of the semicentennial of the school. The story of its growth since 1874 is recounted in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 1.

General Minnesota Items

The *Gopher* of 1925, prepared by the Junior class of the University of Minnesota, is issued as an "Historical Gopher" and contains, in addition to a large number of illustrations of Minnesota historic sites and scenes, several articles of historical interest. Especially valuable is a section entitled "History of the University" which is divided into six chapters: "The Setting of the Stage, 1851–1869," "The Raising of the Curtain, 1869–1884," "The Years of Rising Action, 1884–1910," "The Dramatis Personae — Student Life," "The Dawn of the Greater University, 1911–1923," and "The Denouement: A Greater Minnesota." Mr. Albert W. Morse contributes a sprightly sketch entitled "Minnesota, the State" in which he mentions many dramatic episodes connected with its development.

The purpose of *A Story of Grand Portage and Vicinity Compiled from the Writings of Warren, Winchell, Neill and Buck,* by John B. Arnold (Duluth, 1923. 48 p.) is apparently to advertise Grand Portage Harbor. The author believes that "the finger of destiny points to Grand Portage as one of the future great maritime metropolises of the world." The pamphlet, as its title indicates, is a compilation from the writings of others. Considerable portions of the article entitled "The Story of the Grand Portage," by Solon J. Buck, published in this magazine for February, 1923 (see *ante,* p. 14–27) are embodied, without change, in Mr. Arnold's text. Several interesting maps and illustrations accompany the text.

Among the materials available for the use of grade teachers giving courses in Minnesota history is an outline entitled *Study of Minnesota for Use in the Fourth Grade and an Amplified Outline for the Study of Minnesota in the Sixth Grade,* by Antoinette E. Ford, published by the St. Paul Grade Teachers' Federation in 1915 (41 p.).

Minnesota pioneers gathered at the Old Capitol in St. Paul on May 10 for the annual meeting of the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers' Association; incidentally they celebrated the sixty-sixth anniversary of the state's admission to the Union. Since May 11, the date of admission, fell on Sunday, the meeting was held a day early.

The Minnesota society of the Daughters of American Colonists plans to erect a monument commemorating Hennepin's discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony at the east end of the Tenth Avenue Bridge in Minneapolis, according to an announcement in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 8.

The address delivered by Dr. William Watts Folwell on the granting of the charter of the University of Minnesota (see *ante,* p. 467) appears in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for February 14.

The story of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra and its growth into a musical organization of national reputation is outlined in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 1. Musical forbears of the orchestra in Minneapolis are noted; its organization in 1903 and the more spectacular events connected with its progress during twenty-one years are described. A photograph of the members of the first violin section of the orchestra at the time of its organization is reproduced with a brief note about the musicians in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for June 1.

"An Unpublished Chapter in Stage History" is the appropriate heading of the first installment of the reminiscences of Mr. L. N. Scott of St. Paul, which appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 22. Mr. Scott, who has managed theaters in St. Paul for forty-one years, unfolds an interesting narrative. He tells of his early employment on Commodore William F. Davidson's

river steamboats and of his transfer to the managership of a small St. Paul theater owned by the river magnate. The author describes his early experiences as a theatrical manager and mentions some of the famous actors who have appeared before St. Paul audiences in theaters under his management.

Services in commemoration of the eighty-ninth anniversary of the establishment of the first Protestant church in Minnesota were held at Fort Snelling on June 8.

The recent trip from Chicago to the Pacific coast of the "William Crooks," Minnesota's first locomotive, and of the new "Oriental Limited" of the Great Northern Railway is the subject of extensive newspaper comment about the pioneer locomotive during May. Coaches of the Civil War period were drawn by the "William Crooks" and in various cities along the route these were exhibited beside the luxurious modern coaches. In one of the articles occasioned by the overland journey and published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 1, the story of how James J. Hill built the Great Northern Railway is related by Mr. Hoke Smith, western development agent for the railroad.

Another phase of railroad history is touched upon in an interview published in the *St. Paul Daily News,* in which "Eugene V. Debs recounts how he was victorious over James J. Hill in St. Paul wage conference" during the railroad strike of 1894.

Veteran railroad men who were employed between 1863 and 1870 on any of the three lines which later united to form the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad, held their annual meeting in the Sibley House at Mendota on June 4.

An interesting account of a picturesque though unprofitable phase of pioneer enterprise, the attempt to pan gold from the rivers of southeastern Minnesota, appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 1. The article deals particularly with the activities in 1859 of the "Oronoco Mining company" and of one of its members, Mr. Caleb C. Emery, around the town of Oronoco. Mr. Emery's frontier farming operations near Oronoco, where he still resides, are also described.

In 1857 a German, Wendelin Grimm, from Kulsheim in the Grand Duchy of Baden came to Minnesota and located in Laketown Township, Carver County. With him he brought a bag containing fifteen or twenty pounds of alfalfa seed. On June 10, 1924, "hundreds of devotees of better agriculture, including college professors and extension workers, farmers and their families, business men and a number of direct descendants of this sturdy old German pioneer, made a pilgrimage to the original Grimm farm in Carver county, to commemorate his work and perpetuate his memory." A bronze tablet fastened to a large boulder was unveiled which bears the inscription, "Commemorating Wendelin Grimm, resident of Minnesota, 1857–1891, who originated Grimm alfalfa on this farm. Erected June, 1924, by Grimm Alfalfa Growers' Association." The importance of alfalfa growing to Minnesota agriculture and the value of Grimm's pioneering are discussed in a story by Charles F. Collisson, printed in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for June 15. That the simple tale is not without dramatic appeal may be seen from a feature story about Grimm in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 15, which has this tremendous title, "The Farmer Who Made Pizarro Look Cheap and the Romantic Story of a Little Bag of Seed in an Immigrant's Trunk, and How It Grew on a Minnesota Hillside, into a Green Gold Mine That Yields an Annual Treasure Many Times More Valuable Than the Plunder of the Incas and the Loot of Aztec Temples."

How diversification in Minnesota agriculture saved the situation for the farmer who up to the eighties had specialized in wheat is told as one feature of an article entitled "Don't Worry about the Northwest," by G. R. Martin, in the *Nation's Business* for February.

A well-written account of the career of Colonel William Colvill by Mrs. C. N. Akers is printed in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 29 under the title "Minnesota's 'Fighting First' Made Famous Charge 61 Years Ago." Mrs. Akers, who was intimately acquainted with Colonel Colvill, prepared the account of his life for the Hamline Fortnightly Club, which devoted its programs during the past year to Minnesota history topics.

A pamphlet entitled *Personal Recollections of a Great Baconian, Hon. Ignatius Donnelly,* by Henry W. Wack, has been issued by the Bacon Society of America as a reprint from the *American Baconian* for November, 1923 (15 p.). Emphasis is placed upon the literary side of Donnelly's activities, particularly his contributions to the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy. The author characterizes Donnelly as "a unique factor in the land, a man of versatile genius; infinite wit, prodigious industry and quick human sympathies. He was also a gentleman of delightful pugnacities!" "Wherever the Sage of Nininger bellowed," he writes, "there the western multitude jammed the aisles." Donnelly's career, according to Mr. Wack, was "the most violent political career of any man since the time of Robespierre."

A valuable study of the operation of the mothers' pensions law in Minnesota is printed under the title "County Allowances in Minnesota in 1922," by Mildred D. Mudgett, in the *Journal of Social Forces* for May.

The progress through southern Minnesota and eastern South Dakota of the "James-Younger gang" of bandits after the Northfield robbery of 1876 is traced in great detail by J. A. Derome in a series of articles which appear each Saturday in the *Daily Argus-Leader* of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, from March 22 to June 14.

Mr. Elmer E. Adams' study of *The Washburn-Nelson Senatorial Campaign of 1894–1895* (see *ante,* p. 468) has been reprinted as a small pamphlet (Fergus Falls, 1924. 13 p.).

Local History Items

A brief article entitled "George Loomis Becker and the County Named to Honor Him," by Warren Upham, is printed in the *Detroit Record* for June 20.

A history of the Mankato State Teachers College and an account of the career of President Charles H. Cooper, who has been at the head of the school for twenty-five years, are published in the *Mankato Daily Free Press* for April 9.

A special edition of the *Polk County Leader* of Crookston, dated June 6, "is published to commemorate the centennial of the first official exploration of the Red River Valley by the United States government, and to record in some measure the progress of Crookston and Polk county." An account of the Long expedition of 1823 is contributed by Mr. Conrad G. Selvig, superintendent of the Northwest School and Station of the University of Minnesota. He also is the author of "Notes From Early History of County." The reminiscences of Mr. Elias Steenerson, one of the earliest settlers in the county, are published under the title "Hardships of the First Settlement of Polk County." An entire section is devoted to the history of the northwest school and to the development of farming and dairying in the region. Stories of the early exploration of the Red River Valley and of the building of the railroad through it are related by Mr. Olin D. Wheeler.

An account of "Scenic and Historic Ramsey State Park," by H. M. Hitchcock, in which some attention is given to the historical background of the region, appears in *Sparks: Northwest Motor Digest* for July.

Among the old settlers' associations which have held meetings recently are those of Renville County at Olivia on June 11, 12, and 13, of Dodge County at Mantorville on June 9, and of Stearns County at St. Cloud on June 3.

At a meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society in Hibbing on April 22, addresses and papers were given on the following topics: "Early Education in Hibbing" by Mrs. Susan Gandsey, who has the honor of being "Hibbing's first teacher"; "Hibbing Independent School District Number 27," by C. E. Everett; "The Northern Border in the Treaty of Paris and Treaty of Ghent," by William E. Culkin; "Recollections of Early Residents of Hibbing," by Judge Martin Hughes; "Hibbing in the War," by R. W. Hitchcock; and "An Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History," by Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society.

"Legends and Stories from the St. Croix River" is the title of a series by Ruth B. Teare which has been appearing in the *Washington County Post* of Stillwater since April 24. The following subjects are included: a description of the St. Croix Valley as "The Land of the Chippewas and Sioux," April 24; "Battle Hollow," the story of the Sioux-Chippewa conflict near Stillwater in 1839, May 1; some recollections of Mrs. Maria Bolles concerning the Indians of the region, May 8; an "Elegy Written on an Indian Mound," May 15; an Indian legend about "Zion Hill," at Stillwater, May 22; accounts of John McKusick's lumber mill and of the landslide of 1852, May 29; stories of "Early Days in Stillwater," June 5, 12, and 19; and an account of "Vasa — the City That Never Was," June 26.

The completion of a new city hall in Virginia is the occasion for the publication in the *Virginia Daily Enterprise* for April 9 of descriptions of earlier city halls and of the history of the movement which resulted in the erection of the present structure.

The Tuttle-Columbus Neighborhood (Minneapolis, n.d. 52 p.) is the title of a pamphlet embodying the results of a survey of a community in southeast Minneapolis made under the direction of Professor Manuel C. Elmer of the University of Minnesota.

The completion of the new Nicollet Hotel in Minneapolis has again aroused interest in the old Nicollet House which stood on the same site for sixty-five years. The *Minneapolis Tribune* for June 15 publishes an account of the old hostelry and a picture taken in 1858.

Accounts of the "Old Red Mill" in Edina Township on the outskirts of Minneapolis and of Mr. George Millam, the miller who began to operate it in 1869, appear in the *Minneapolis Tribune* and the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 20. Pictures of the mill appear with both narratives.

In an account published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 13, some of the Civil War experiences of Judge Ell Torrance of Minneapolis are related. The article is occasioned by his eightieth birthday.

For a period of nearly seven years historical sketches and personal recollections by "Benjamin Backnumber" have appeared in the Sunday issues of the *St. Paul Daily News* under the heading "St. Paul Before This." The first series of these articles appeared from February 26, 1911, to February 16, 1913, and the second from September 14, 1919, to April 6, 1924. It is now announced that the author of these contributions to local history — many of which have been noted in the pages of the BULLETIN — is Mr. John Talman, newspaper librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society.

An illustrated *Jubilee Year Book* (1924. 47 p.) has been issued by the Dayton Avenue Presbyterian Church of St. Paul in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, which was celebrated from April 16 to 27. Brief histories of the church, of the "Carroll Street Mission," and of the "Women's Missionary Society" are included.

At the dedication on April 13 of the new edifice of the First Swedish Methodist Episcopal Church of St. Paul, the seventy-fourth anniversary of the establishment of the church in that city was celebrated. A brief history of this branch of the Methodist Church in St. Paul appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of April 13. A week of celebration by members of its congregation marked the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Swedish Tabernacle of St. Paul. The *Pioneer Press* for April 20, the date of the beginning of the jubilee, publishes an outline of the history of the church.

The fates of some of the old church buildings of St. Paul, long since abandoned by their congregations, are noted in an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 18. It reveals that the churches are now being put to uses varying from a garage to an undertaker's establishment. Pictures of some of these old structures and portraits of pastors who formerly served in them accompany the article.

The history of one of the oldest office buildings in the state, the Irvine Block in St. Paul, which was erected in 1854, is presented, with a view of the building, in the *St. Paul Daily News* for June 8.

Brief illustrated articles about some of the parks and squares of St. Paul have appeared recently in the *St. Paul Daily News*. The interesting fact that Rice Park, Smith Park, and Irvine Park have belonged to the city since 1849, the year in which Minnesota Territory was organized, is brought out in the sketches for May 24 and June 1 and 22. Accounts of Indian Mounds Park, Summit Park, and Linwood Park, all more recently acquired, are published on June 8, 15, and 29. Portraits of Henry M. Rice, who presented Rice Park to the city, and of Mrs. Rice appear in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 1.

In memory of three former presidents of the St. Anthony Park Improvement Association, Professors Samuel B. Green and Le Roy Cady of the University of Minnesota college of agriculture and Gilbert Gutterson, three granite boulders were unveiled with appropriate ceremonies at College Park in the St. Paul suburb on May 11. The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of that date publishes sketches of the careers of the men who were thus honored.

Days when the traveling circus was developing into an important form of amusement are recalled in an illustrated feature article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for April 20 about the "Guerin, St. Germain and DeHaven 'Grand Imperial Circus,'" which was financed principally by St. Paul men. In the late sixties the circus opened in St. Louis, spent a winter in St. Paul, and then went east. Misfortune followed in its train, however, and the competition of five other shows caused its final collapse in Maine. With it went the fortunes of the St. Paul promoters, Vital Guerin and Frank St. Germain. Recollections of sons of the two men concerning this unfortunate venture are included in the article.

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THE PEOPLE'S PARTY IN MINNESOTA[1]

For a long time the farmer who made his home along the American frontier was the recipient of far greater favors than he knew. Here he might have land for next to nothing — virgin land, the fertility of which would not for many a year appreciably decline. Lack of capital was no great handicap. It took comparatively little to get a start, and if all went well the homesteader or the purchaser of cheap lands might hope in a few years — certainly less than a lifetime — to pay off his debts and to have his farm "clear." Ceaseless labor it meant, labor which aged him while he was yet young and which, falling even more heavily upon his wife, carried her to an early grave. But the returns were good. No other farmer in all the world had such an opportunity. Foreigners realized this far better than Americans and came in an ever-increasing throng to share the bounty which providence and the American government placed before them.

These free, rich lands did indeed constitute a generous subsidy for agriculture. Richard Rush, secretary of the treasury under John Quincy Adams, pointed out a third of a century before the Homestead Act went into effect that the low prices asked by the government for its land operated as a "perpetual allurement to their purchase. . . . a bounty . . . in favor of agricultural pursuits." To him it appeared that the manufacturer was the one who labored against odds. Rush even maintained that "the further encouragement of manufactures by legislative means, would be but a counterbalance, and at most a partial one, to the encouragement to agriculture" inherent in the "terms upon which the public lands are sold."[2]

[1] Read on June 20, 1924, at the state historical convention held under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society at Detroit.

[2] Secretary of the Treasury, *State of Finances*, 25 (20 Congress, 1 session, *House Documents*, no. 4 — serial 169).

But the era of free lands could not last forever. Well before the close of the nineteenth century they were practically gone. The price of land had begun to climb. The landless farmer now had increasing difficulty in making a start, and the farmer who had land saw his land values appreciate without furnishing him a corresponding increase in income. The "subsidy" to agriculture had run out, and there was nothing to place in its stead. The farmer must now take his chances with the rest.

He found the competition keen enough. That spirit of ruthless conquest with which he and his progenitors had attacked the woodlands and the prairies had passed into all things American. By the end of the eighties the railways had overtaken the frontier at every point — indeed, they had appeared in time to aid materially in speeding it to an end. Their methods were the methods of the pioneer. They built with blind optimism and with prodigal expenditure wherever there seemed to be the slightest hope of gain. They relied upon and obtained the generous help of the government. They "watered" their stock well before they sold it. And they charged all the traffic would bear. Here was no mean competitor!

Nor were the railroads the only rivals the farmer had to meet. There were other corporations, usually called trusts, which with a lasting and dependable protective tariff behind them were leading the farmer a merry race. There were the trusts which furnished him with the things he wore; there were the trusts which furnished him with the machines he had to use; there were the trusts which furnished him with the fuel he had to burn; there were the trusts which furnished him with the materials of which he built his home, his barns, his fences. And worst of all, there were the trusts to which he must sell his produce — an elevator combine, a miller's ring, a packer's trust. They all played the game in true pioneer fashion. They were there to get all that they could out of a

rich virgin soil. Was not this a free country? Had they not the same rights as anyone else? Who was to tell them what prices they were to charge or to give? That was for them to decide. If people didn't like their prices they knew what they could do.

And then there were the money-lenders. Ever since the Civil War the accumulation of capital, especially in the manufacturing regions of the East, had been going on apace. Here money to loan was available in large quantities, and the western lands, with their appreciating values, furnished excellent security.[3] As for interest rates, the sky was the limit. The western farmer always wanted money badly and could rarely resist the temptation to borrow on any terms. His optimism, born of a never-faltering faith in the future, derived from generations of pioneer ancestors, made him certain that he could repay. He mortgaged his lands for all they were worth, whether it was absolutely necessary or not. As a rule, however, it was absolutely necessary. The latest improved machinery cost money even when purchased on the installment plan; and a long succession of bad years, due to drouths, grasshoppers, and hail, cost more.

These, then, were the competitors — the railroads, the trusts, and the bankers — who disputed with the farmer every step in the race for prosperity. The condition, to be sure, was not altogether new. Ever since the West began the pioneer had had to struggle with the problem of too costly transportation. He had never known a time when the price of the things he had to buy was not as much too high as the price of the things he had to sell was too low. He had had his troubles with banks and bankers. But these earlier days were the days of cheap lands and when things went wrong the disgruntled sought solace in another move to the West. Here was the chance for a new start. Broader acres, more

[3] Hallie Farmer, "The Economic Background of Frontier Populism," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10:410 (March, 1924).

fertile fields would surely bring the desired results. And with the restless moving ever on and on the more stable elements of society who were left behind made progress that was steady and sure. Now with the lands used up this safety valve was closed. The frontier was turned back upon itself. The restless and discontented voiced their sentiments more and fled from them less. There was a veritable chorus of denunciation directed against those individuals and those corporations who sought their own advantage without regard to the effect their actions would have upon the farmer and his interests.[4]

Premonitions of the gathering storm had not been lacking. In the seventies the farmers protested through the Granger movement against the methods by which the railroads wrung profits from them. The movement was short-lived, however, although it did indeed establish the principle that the roads must submit to state regulation even of their rates. Perhaps its most important contribution — the lesson it taught the farmers of the necessity of coöperation — was less tangible. They learned that by combining they could get a hearing, even if they could not at first accomplish great results. This was a hard lesson to learn and was perhaps never fully mastered, for the pioneer farmer was by practice and precept an individualist. Like his ancestors before him he wished to manage his own affairs in his own way, and he asked only to be let alone. But alone he was unable to face effectively the combinations and corporations that opposed him, and clearly the only hope lay in opposing combination by combination. After the Granger movement came the Greenback movement, with its protest against the steadily mounting value of the dollar and, correspondingly, of the farmers' debts. And then came the Alliance.[5]

[4] Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 275–281 (New York, 1920).

[5] An excellent summary of the history of these movements is presented by Solon J. Buck in *The Agrarian Crusade: A Chronicle of the Farmer in Politics* (*The Chronicles of America Series*, vol. 45 — New Haven, 1920).

The history of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota is fairly typical of the whole movement, the development of which differed in the various western states in detail but not much in kind. After beginning in a small way early in the eighties, the organization by the end of the decade had drawn to its support an enormous following, especially in the western and newer portions of the state. The Alliance at first made no pretense of entering politics as a third party; indeed, its leaders expressly denied that it had any such desire. What it did propose to do, however, was to secure legislation through the older parties, or through any available means, for the benefit of the rural classes. It interested itself especially in the selection of farmers and friends of the farmers to sit in the legislature, trusting that through their votes such laws as were needed could be passed. As early as 1885 this policy had netted results. In that year a state railroad and warehouse commission was created to which regulatory powers of seemingly great importance were given — powers which the legislature of 1887, even more completely under the influence of the farmers than its predecessor, was able to increase.[6]

The farmers' regulations, however, were by no means agreeable to the railways and the elevator companies against whose practices they were aimed, and means of evading objectionable laws were generally discovered. If worst came to worst the courts could be depended upon to set aside any really effective legislation on the grounds of deprivation of property "without due process of law." Moreover, the game of controlling legislatures was one in which the farmers were not well versed, whereas their opponents had had long experience. When the legislature of 1889 met it soon became apparent that the farmers had been outplayed. "The railroad corporations are now jubilant," the Alliance leaders mourned. "They have defeated the re-election to the House of many

[6] For a fuller statement see John D. Hicks, "The Origin and Early History of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 9:203–222 (December, 1922).

of the men who defended our rights. The great newspapers are not on our side. The corporations propose to send a railroad man to the United States Senate. They intend to eventually unite all the railroads of the United States into one great 'trust.'"[7] "This legislature," wrote another prophet of disaster, "will be controlled by the worst enemies of the human race and the American people, the corporations. A few years ago the corporations did not possess much power and did not control legislation. Now, the great danger of the country is from the combinations of soulless corporations."[8] The absence of leadership among the farmers in the legislature of 1889 was at once apparent. Although there were thirty-three of them in the House of Representatives they fell to fighting among themselves, and were unable so much as to select a candidate for speaker whom they could all support.[9] Their efforts to secure further remedial legislation were half-hearted and wholly unsuccessful.

It was this breakdown of the Alliance program of non-partisan and bipartisan activity that led finally to the attempt to form an independent political party. The movement, moreover, was a ground swell, having its origin more in the desperate financial condition of the farmers than in the plans or hopes of a few determined leaders. Indeed the one really outstanding leader of the reform forces in Minnesota, Ignatius Donnelly, appeared at this time, for reasons best known to himself, to be definitely against third party action.[10] When the annual meeting of the state alliance convened in March, 1890, it was apparent that neither Donnelly nor any other

[7] From a four-page pamphlet containing a circular letter signed by the officers of the state alliance and headed "Headquarters State Farmers' Alliance," in the Donnelly Scrapbooks, vol. 7. The Donnelly Scrapbooks, Papers, and Letter Books are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

[8] P. Cudmore to Donnelly, January 12, 1889, Donnelly Papers.

[9] *Daily Pioneer Press* (St. Paul and Minneapolis), January 8, 1889.

[10] John D. Hicks, "The Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 8:115 (June–September, 1921).

leader could long hold back the tide. The gathering, according to the *Minneapolis Journal,* was noted for two things — "an immense flood of resolutions and an attendance that crowded the House of Representatives to the doors." The resolutions were doubtless Donnelly's, and in them his doctrine of the union of all the producing classes of the world to protect themselves from the robberies of the non-producers found adequate expression. The platform contained twenty-five planks and voiced demands for laws to prevent railway and elevator discriminations, to provide for the taxation of mortgages, to prevent the exaction of usurious rates of interest, and incidentally — eleventh in the list — to increase the volume of the currency. But it was one thing to accept Donnelly's facile pen as a means of assuring adequate expression of Alliance grievances and quite another to accept his leadership of the movement. Had Donnelly been wholeheartedly in favor of third party action doubtless he might have fared better. By a vote of 159 to 134, however, the alliance presidency was withheld from him and conferred upon a far less conspicuous worker, R. J. Hall, whose mind, it was thought, could be more certainly trusted to go along with the will of the masses.[11]

That will found adequate expression in a convention held in St. Paul on July 16, 1890, with the avowed purpose of putting a full ticket in the field. The call came from the executive committee of the state alliance in response to instructions from a large number of local chapters, and it met with the enthusiastic approval of Alliance men all over the state. It recited some of the chief grievances which the farmers felt and announced, as a full and complete apology for the contemplated action, that "No party has had the courage to undertake to free us from these and kindred evils." The size of the convention which responded to the call attests

[11] *Minneapolis Journal,* March 5, 6, 1890; *St. Paul Daily News,* March 6, 1890; *St. Paul Daily Globe,* March 7, 1890.

somewhat the interest in the movement. There were 505 delegates, of whom 53 were representatives of the various trades unions of the Twin Cities. Donnelly, who by this time had climbed into the band wagon and, notwithstanding his protests to the contrary, was fully receptive towards the Alliance nomination for governor, claimed to be responsible for the inclusion of the labor leaders. If so, they repaid him but badly for his favor, for they joined with his opponents to nominate for governor the editor of a well-known Minneapolis farm journal, Sidney M. Owen. Donnelly probably had a nominating majority of the Alliance men. It was the labor vote that defeated him. Had the convention been free to do as it chose, however, it would doubtless have passed by both Donnelly and Owen to give the nomination to Knute Nelson, whose independence in politics had attracted much attention, but Nelson hoisted the Republican banner and refused to pull it down.[12]

The election which followed was full of excitement. Donnelly threatened for a time to sulk in his tent, but at length came out for Owen. "At the convention we put up a man whom I thought was an accident," he said. "But the course was a wise one, and I think the nomination of S. M. Owen was directed by an over-ruling Providence."[13] The Alliance forces were fully aroused to their opportunity and their leaders made a strenuous campaign. Low prices and poor crops counted even more heavily than oratory in their favor. For governor the Republican candidate, William R. Merriam, received 88,111 votes; Thomas Wilson, the

[12] *St. Paul Dispatch,* June 17, 1890; *St. Paul News,* July 15, 17, 18, 1890; *Daily Pioneer Press* (St. Paul), July 18, 1890; *Minneapolis Journal,* July 19, 1890; *Great West* (St. Paul), July 25, 1890; Eugene V. Smalley, ed., *History of the Republican Party,* 232 (St. Paul, 1896); *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia and Register of Important Events,* 1890, p. 556; Jacob A. O. Preus, "Knute Nelson," *ante,* p. 336.

[13] From a clipping headed "Rice County," which includes a résumé of a speech made by Donnelly at Faribault on October 9, 1890, in Donnelly Scrapbooks, vol. 8.

Democrat, had 85,844; and Owen, the Alliance, 58,513. Adolf Bierman, who had been nominated for state auditor both by the Democrats and by the Alliance men, was triumphantly elected. Otherwise the whole Republican state ticket pulled through. In the Congressional elections the Alliance fared better. Here the Republicans lost two of the five districts in the state to Democrats and two to Alliance men. The one Republican they succeeded in sending to Congress was John Lind, whose later career would seem to cast doubt on the importance of his triumph to the Grand Old Party. As for the state legislature, the Alliance men held the balance of power in each house, no party having a majority.[14]

The leadership of the Alliance movement in Minnesota was now assumed definitely by Donnelly, who had been elected to the state Senate and by his conduct during the campaign had convinced the rank and file of the Alliance following that he stood for independent political action. At a state convention held late in December Donnelly won the alliance presidency by an overwhelming vote, and when the legislature convened in the following month he directed the Alliance strategy.[15] Donnelly's plan was to weld the Alliance men firmly together into a bloc which could throw its influence to the Republican or to the Democratic side in each chamber as expediency might demand. At first he had considerable success. The farmer members met with him to discuss plans of procedure and prospective legislation, and they willingly followed his leadership.[16] Finding the Democratic members more inclined to make concessions than the Republicans, he speedily formed an Alliance-Democratic combination with

[14] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia,* 1890, p. 557; *St. Paul Globe,* December 30, 1890; Minnesota, *Legislative Manual,* 1891, p. 555; Smalley, *Republican Party,* 236.

[15] *St. Paul News,* December 31, 1890.

[16] *St. Paul Globe,* January 14, 15, 1891; and numerous clippings in Donnelly Scrapbooks, vol. 8.

which he succeeded in organizing both houses. In the Senate this occasioned an interesting conflict between Donnelly and the Republican presiding officer, Gideon S. Ives. According to long-established precedent the lieutenant governor in Minnesota was charged with the unique and important duty of appointing all committees. When Lieutenant Governor Ives refused to attend to Donnelly's insistent demand that leading committee assignments be given to himself and to his Alliance brethren, the Alliance-Democratic combination voted to vest committee appointments in the Senate and not in the chair — and as a consequence the Alliance men got the places they sought. The Republicans protested bitterly, even refusing to select minority members on the committees named, but their protests were unavailing.[17]

"The sky is luminous with promise," Donnelly had written the autumn before, when he first learned of his election to the state Senate.[18] Unfortunately, however, most of the promises were never fulfilled. A comprehensive amendment to the constitution, providing among other things that elevators and warehouses for grain should be deemed public warehouses and that the state should have the right to fix the rates of storage, lacked one of the necessary majority when voted on in the Senate.[19] Other Alliance measures fared about as well. This was probably Donnelly's most conspicuous term in the legislature, yet scarcely a bill that he advocated became law. His supporters dropped from him one by one, and when the session was over only a fraction of his famous legislative bloc was on hand to affix signatures to a grandiose "Alliance Manifesto," which told what noble things the

[17] *St. Paul Globe,* January 7, 10, 16, 1891; *Pioneer Press,* January 10, 1891. See also an interesting letter from Lieutenant Governor Ives to Donnelly, December 20, 1890, in the Donnelly Papers.

[18] Donnelly to Dr. William W. Mayo, November 6, 1890, Donnelly Letter Books, 4: 183.

[19] *St. Paul Globe,* March 14, 1891; clippings in Donnelly Scrapbooks, vol. 8.

Alliance men had tried in vain to do and acknowledged that they were "defeated, but not disheartened." [20]

Meanwhile, the prospect of doing on a national scale what the Alliance was attempting to do in Minnesota and elsewhere on a smaller scale had attracted much attention. After all, there were certain problems which lay beyond the bounds of state authority. There was a genuine reluctance on the part of Alliance men to regard the tariff as an important political issue inasmuch as it was the favorite political football of the older parties; yet the McKinley tariff bill was anathema to the farmers, and only through national legislation could the tariff be touched. The trusts, too, were usually beyond the reach of the state governments; the railways could be controlled only by the nation; and then there was the "crime of 1873." More and more the western agitators came to believe that all the ills of their section were traceable to the conspiracy against silver which denied to a rapidly growing country an adequate volume of currency. The West had always sought panaceas. It had never shown much willingness to submit its ailments to expert analysis, much less to follow patiently annoying directions which pointed only to a slow and none too certain cure. Instinctively it preferred a patent medicine to a physician's prescription, and a magnificent cure-all was at hand:

> The dollar of our daddies,
> Of silver coinage free,
> Will make us rich and happy
> Will bring prosperity. [21]

Free silver won the West precisely because it promised the most with the least bother. Exactly what it meant or why it would help, the average man who believed in it could rarely tell. But the greater his ignorance of the subject the pro-

[20] *St. Paul Globe,* April 22, 1891.

[21] The authorship of this verse, which was found, undated, among the Luman H. Weller Papers in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is credited to M. H. Daley.

founder his faith in it. And free silver, despite the misguided efforts of a few western legislatures, was a blessing which only the national government could confer.

Those agitators who favored a nation-wide party and a nation-wide program of reform finally had their way when a great mass convention, held at Cincinnati in May, 1891, formally launched the People's party. Minnesota was brought into considerable prominence during these proceedings by the activities of Ignatius Donnelly, the leader of the Minnesota delegation, who perhaps did more than any other one man there to make certain that independent action would be taken.[22] Donnelly had often before preached the necessity of a national reform party, and he now once more embraced the idea with his customary warmth. Upon returning to Minnesota he made every effort to lead the state farmers' alliance (over which he still presided) into the new movement, and he succeeded well in his undertaking — indeed, he could hardly have prevented the steady growth of the Populist ranks within the state had he tried.

Nevertheless, it would be a great mistake to overlook the fact that there was noteworthy opposition to abandoning the local Alliance party, organized in 1890, in order to make way for the newer national party. Many ardent and convinced reformers questioned the wisdom of emphasizing national rather than state issues, as a national party must needs do. Win the state first for reform, they argued; put into effect the program which the Alliance had advocated for so long a time and there would then be time enough to capture the national citadel. To these reformers the idea of fusion with the Democrats was by no means unthinkable, for it was the program, not the party, to which they were devoted.[23] They were, moreover, exceedingly mistrustful of Donnelly, whose

[22] *Pioneer Press,* May 20, 1891; clippings in Donnelly Scrapbooks, vol. 8.

[23] *St. Paul Globe,* January 4, March 14, 1892; *Chicago Times,* February 4, 1892; *Great West,* April 1, 1892.

constant search for some new thing had often led him rather far afield. They warred with him openly, accusing him of seeking only his own political advantage at the expense of the cause he pretended to serve. He fought back, as was his custom, and the real issue at stake — whether the national or the state program should take precedence — was buried completely from view by a flood of personalities, in which neither side, to quote an impartial observer, "succeeded in advancing very convincing proof of the irredeemable wickedness of the other." [24]

The men who had managed the campaign for Owen in 1890 were the leaders of the anti-Donnelly faction. They still controlled the Alliance state central committee, and they took rather unfair advantage of their opponents by calling an Alliance convention to meet at St. Paul on July 7, 1892; for at that time Donnelly would be attending the great People's party gathering at Omaha and he would, therefore, be unable to combat his enemies in person. The convention was well attended, named a full state ticket, and adopted a lengthy platform of traditional Alliance principles.[25] But when the Omaha convention was over and the Minnesota delegates had returned, the stronger appeal of national Populism at once asserted itself. A week after the anti-Donnelly Alliance gathering had concluded its labors 650 representatives of the new party met in St. Paul, named an entirely different ticket, headed by Donnelly for governor, and so effectively eclipsed the earlier convention in numbers and enthusiasm that the Alliance candidates soon withdrew. The Minnesota Populists naturally echoed in their platform the Omaha pronouncement, which Donnelly had so lately helped to write; but they took care to recognize state issues, although in far less detail than their rivals. They demanded more effective state control of corporations and transportation companies; erection by the

[24] *St. Paul Dispatch,* March 12, 1892.

[25] *St. Paul Globe,* July 7, 8, 1892; Smalley, *Republican Party,* 238.

state of terminal elevators at Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth; and, strikingly enough, amendment of the state constitution in such a way as to provide that all laws passed by the legislature must be referred back to the people for their approval. It was clear, however, that the state platform was meant merely to supplement the national program of reform upon which obviously the main attention was to center.[26]

Upon the Republicans rested the chief responsibility for meeting the Populist attack, and they managed their campaign with skill. They proposed to "pull the whole Alliance back into the Republican party" by the nomination for governor of Knute Nelson, whose stand on public questions — particularly the tariff — had been so far in harmony with Alliance views that in 1890 the revolting farmers could scarcely be restrained from adopting him into their fold and nominating him for governor. "If the Alliance doesn't come nearer Knute Nelson's conception of political orthodoxy than the Republican party then his views are not in consonance with his acts," is what one Democratic editor thought about it. Nelson, moreover, was a leader among the Scandinavians, and as the same irreverent observer declared, was "supposed to carry the Norwegian vote of the State in the coat-tail pocket of his trousers." If anyone could win for the Republicans, certainly Nelson was the man.[27]

Lawler, the Democratic nominee, was a Catholic whose nomination, Donnelly claimed, was engineered by James J. Hill and other leading Democrats to cut into the heavy vote which Donnelly would normally receive from members of the Catholic church, particularly the Irish members.[28] However that might be, these leaders doubtless did use their

[26] *St. Paul News,* July 15, 1892; *Minneapolis Tribune,* July 15, 1892; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia,* 1892, p. 470.

[27] *Broad Axe* (St. Paul), September 24, 1891; February 25, August 25, 1892.

[28] *Minneapolis Tribune,* July 10, 1892; *Duluth Daily News,* September 9, 1892; *Penny Press* (Minneapolis), June 8, 1894.

influence to block all efforts to bring about fusion between the Democrats and the Populists. They probably reasoned that the Populist strength would be drawn mainly from the Republican ranks and that with the opposition divided the Democrats had a fighting chance to win. Also they hated Donnelly with a mighty hatred and could never have supported a ticket which bore his name at the top.[29]

The Populists really expected to win Minnesota in 1892. Indeed, the Alliance showing in 1890 had been so remarkable that even the Republicans, who had not lost a state election since 1858, felt somewhat alarmed. Donnelly fought for all he was worth — he even began his fight months before he was nominated. "We are making a tremendous campaign," he wrote to "Calamity" Weller of Iowa. "I start out tomorrow to begin a series of 65 speeches before July. After July I shall be at work all the time."[30] "From Forge and Farm; from Shop and Counter; from Highways and Firesides;" ran a Donnelly broadside, "come and hear the 'Great Commoner' on the mighty issues which are moving mankind to the ballot box in the great struggle for their rights." And the crowds came. When Nelson took the stump to bare Donnelly's erratic record and to urge the greater dependability of the Republican candidates and platform, Donnelly promptly

[29] Some bargains, however, were struck between the Democrats and the Populists. Minnesota in 1892 was entitled to nine electoral votes. The Democrats nominated only five electors on their own ticket; they then gave their indorsement to four of the electors nominated by the Populists. In the ensuing election the total vote for the four "fusion" electors was 110,465; the five straight Populist electors received 29,313 votes; and the five Democratic electors, 100,920. Harrison, with 112,823 votes, had a substantial plurality and the nine electoral votes of Minnesota were cast for the Republican ticket. In state politics the Democrats and the Populists joined in the nomination of Daniel Buck and Thomas Canty, who were elected to the Minnesota Supreme Court. *Congressional Record,* 52 Congress, 2 session, 1321; *Legislative Manual,* 1893, p. 228, 374, 377; *Farm, Stock and Home,* 9:242 (May 1, 1893); *Representative* (St. Paul), April 19, 1893.

[30] April 15, 1892, Weller Papers.

challenged his chief opponent to a public debate, and taunted him unpleasantly about his plutocratic associates. But Nelson wisely declined to mix with the versatile Irishman, as did also Lawler, whom Donnelly generously included in the invitation.[31]

The result of the election demonstrated plainly enough the hard and uncertain road a new political party has to travel to achieve success. People's party enthusiasts had predicted freely that their ticket would poll a hundred thousand votes and carry the state. Instead the result fell far below the Alliance record of 1890. Donnelly's vote was more than eighteen thousand under that given to Owen two years before, a fact not to be explained on the ground of personal unpopularity, for Donnelly ran nearly eleven thousand votes ahead of Weaver, the People's party candidate for president. Nelson won the governorship handily, but he trailed Harrison in the state some ten thousand votes; and Lawler was a full five thousand votes behind Cleveland. In the Congressional contests also the People's party was less effective than its predecessor had been in the election of 1890, winning but a single district, and that by the slender margin of eighty-five votes. Two districts went to the Democrats, and the other four (the state then had seven representatives) to the Republicans. In the state legislature the new party was reduced to a scant two dozen votes all told.[32]

It is not easy to explain this disastrous slump where an easy victory had been predicted. It was doubtless due in no small measure to two somewhat related causes: first, the division among reformers themselves as to the wisdom of

[31] Donnelly Scrapbooks, vol. 11; *St. Paul Dispatch,* August 13, 1892; *Minneapolis Tribune,* September 1, 1892; *Marshall County Banner* (Argyle), October 20, 1892; James H. Baker, *Lives of the Governors of Minnesota,* 339 (*Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 13).

[32] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia,* 1892, p. 470; 1893, p. 497; *Minneapolis Tribune,* November 13, 1892; Baker, *Lives of the Governors,* 339; Smalley, *Republican Party,* 241.

sidetracking the local Alliance party with its emphasis upon state issues to make way for the People's party and a national program of reform; and second, the fact that 1892 was a presidential year. The abandonment of traditional party lines was far less difficult when purely state and local issues were involved. When the control of the national government was at stake many evidently halted and turned back.[33]

Perhaps the greatest importance of third parties is to be found in the way in which they force the older parties to take up and make effective the radical plans they propose. The nomination of Nelson by the Republicans was in the nature of a guarantee to the farmers of the state that the legislation they demanded would not long be delayed, and under Nelson's leadership some notable laws were passed. State inspection of the weighing and grading of grain at the great terminal points, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth, had been put into effect under a law of 1885, but the farmers still complained that they were defrauded at the country elevators. A law of 1893 extended the benefit of state inspection to those sellers of grain who could not avoid dealing through local grain merchants. Another law increased the punishment meted out to individuals who were responsible for the creation of pools and trusts, providing that in addition to the punishment by fine already assigned there should be also imprisonment of from one to ten years in the penitentiary. Still another law provided for the purchase of a site and the erection by the state of an elevator at Duluth, to be managed and operated by the state warehouse commission. This was precisely what the Populists had demanded in their platform,

[33] This conclusion is further borne out by the results of subsequent elections. The year 1894 was, like 1890, a far better third party year than 1892 in Minnesota. Comparisons between 1894 and 1896 are not easily made because of the fusion in the latter year of Democrats and Populists, but 1898 was a better Fusionist year than either 1896 or 1900. On all three occasions John Lind headed the Fusion ticket, but in 1896 and 1900 he lost, whereas in 1898 he was elected.

but the law never went into effect — perhaps it was never so intended. The state attorney-general ruled against the project, and his opinion was later upheld by the state supreme court, which declared the act unconstitutional and void. An attempt to place upon the tax list all unsold railway land grants likewise failed.[34]

It is a law of third party movements that once an older party begins to adopt the reforms originally demanded, the new party, if it continues to exist, must and does plunge still further ahead. It was so in Minnesota in 1893. In earlier years the legislation noted would have been about all that the reformers themselves could have asked. Now they had plans far more extensive. They had indeed passed beyond the point where any program of state legislation would satisfy them. The panic of 1893 with its attendant hard times converted many who had had their doubts before to the belief that nation-wide reforms of the most radical and thoroughgoing sort were necessary. Converts to the free silver heresy were especially numerous. In August, 1893, a great free silver convention, held at Chicago, sounded the call to action in a set of resolutions doubtless drafted by the redoubtable Donnelly himself.[35] Free silver thereafter made tremendous inroads into the older parties. When Cleveland accomplished the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Law in 1894 such prominent Minnesota Republicans as John Lind, Frank A. Day, and George N. Lanphere came out openly for free silver, and the Democratic state convention made itself ridiculous by indorsing Grover Cleveland and free silver in the same paragraph. That the white metal could work miracles multitudes verily believed. The writer of an editorial in the *Representative* declared that " It means work for the thousands who now tramp the streets of Minneapolis, St. Paul and

[34] Minnesota, *General Laws*, 1893, p. 131–138, 140–143, 251; Minnesota Railroad and Warehouse Commission, *Annual Report*, 1893, p. 8–20; 1894, p. 35; 56 *Minnesota*, 100; *Broad Axe*, October 4, 1894.

[35] *Chicago Times*, August 2, 1893; *Chicago Tribune*, August 3, 1893.

Duluth, not knowing where their next meal is coming from. It means food and clothing for the thousands of hungry and ill-clad women and children in these cities. It means the restoration of confidence in the business world. It means the re-opening of closed factories, the relighting of darkened furnaces; it means hope instead of despair; comfort in place of suffering; life instead of death." [36]

All this trend towards free silver meant a great influx into the ranks of the People's party, which alone had a clear record on the silver question. The Republican party in its state convention of July 11, 1894, made its stand on a type of bimetallism which favored the maintenance of a "substantial parity of value of every dollar in circulation with that of every other dollar." [37] As for the Democrats any local pronouncement that they might make favorable to free silver was of little importance in view of the hostile stand which Cleveland had seen fit to take. But the Populists had always been for free silver, they were for it still, and in their direction the discontented masses turned.

The Republicans were almost in a panic as they confronted the crisis precipitated by the approach of the state elections of 1894. That the result would hinge upon national rather than state issues, and especially upon free silver, no one could doubt. Nor could anyone doubt that the hard times were making converts for the Populists "every day and hour." [38] "All the [*country*] newspapers are turning Populist," one gloomy writer proclaimed, and "of the papers printed in any of the Scandinavian languages which retain the Republican spirit pure and without bias, only two are left." [39] Among the Populists there was far greater harmony than there had

[36] *Penny Press,* June 8, 1894; *Broad Axe,* September 6, 1894; *Representative,* September 12, 19, 1894. Beginning in May, 1894, the *Representative* was published in Minneapolis.

[37] *Representative,* July 18, 1894; Preus, *ante,* p. 337.

[38] *Representative,* May 2, 1894.

[39] Quoted from the *Minneapolis Tribune* of June 15, 1894, in the *Representative* of June 20, 1894.

been two years before, although minor disturbances were by no means wanting. By common consent they passed by Donnelly, the unsuccessful standard-bearer of 1892, in order to renominate for governor Sidney M. Owen, whose record as Alliance candidate in 1890 had been so phenomenal. They admitted to their convention also a large and enthusiastic labor delegation which chose from its ranks the party candidate for secretary of state, and they adopted a platform of principles which placed the money question ahead of every other consideration. Their money stand, in fact, went much further than free silver, for even free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of sixteen to one was not enough to satisfy the old-time Greenbackers who were still present in numbers. The convention therefore demanded in addition "a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private," in quantity "not less than $50 per capita." Other reforms, mostly bearing on national affairs, were also advocated, among them government savings banks; government ownership of the railway, telegraph, and telephone systems of the country; income and inheritance taxes; the reclamation of excessive railway land grants; direct election of the president, vice president, and United States senators; and equal suffrage for men and women. Trusts and combines were roundly denounced, and the Republican administration in Minnesota was duly charged with high crimes and misdemeanors.[40]

Nelson was renominated by the Republicans and again bore the brunt of the Populist attack. He made a tremendous campaign and succeeded in drawing to his standard many conservative Democrats, who felt that the real choice lay between him and Owen. Indeed, the Democratic candidate for governor, George L. Becker, was freely accused by the Populists of being nothing more than a tool in Republican

[40] *Broad Axe,* July 12, 1894; *Representative,* July 18, August 1, 1894; Smalley, *Republican Party,* 243.

hands used to impede the very obvious drift of the less conservative Democrats to the Populist camp. Becker was at the time of his nomination a member of the bipartisan state board of railroad commissioners by appointment of Governor Nelson, and although he resigned to make the race he remained on very friendly terms with his former chief throughout the campaign. "Republican papers laud Becker to the skies," one Populist objected, "and the Democrats treat Knute with the greatest respect." [41]

Populist hopes of victory were once more shattered. Owen made an admirable showing, polling a total of 87,890 votes to Becker's 53,584 and Nelson's 147,943. But the triumph of the Republicans was complete. They not only elected their entire state ticket, but for the first time in years they sent an undivided Republican delegation to Congress. The Populists failed even to secure the election of John W. Willis, a Democrat whom the third party men had nominated and the Democrats had accepted, to be associate justice of the supreme court. It is clear that the Populists had overestimated their strength, but even so they were not entirely cast down. As one leader expressed it, "This protest of 80,000 of Minnesota's toilers against existing conditions is a most eloquent one, and if no attention is paid to it, as there probably will not be, it will be still more eloquent, because more powerful, in the early future." [42]

The poor showing made by the Democrats in 1894 gave some reason for the Populists to hope that their party would soon take its place. Donnelly predicted that the Democrats would never recover from their defeat — that in state and nation they would soon go the way of the Whigs four decades before.[43] Had the Democrats continued to face both ways

[41] *Broad Axe,* September 27, 1894; *Representative,* October 10, 1894.

[42] *Broad Axe,* September 6, 1894; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia,* 1894, p. 490–491; *Legislative Manual,* 1895, p. 333, 334, 381; *Farm, Stock and Home,* 11:10 (November 15, 1894).

[43] *Representative,* November 7, 1894.

on the money question it is not unlikely that Donnelly's prophecy would have been fulfilled, at least in the West, where the silver movement was strongest. But the Democrats were now well on the way towards the full acceptance of this item of the Populist creed. History was again repeating itself. What the third party men had first taken up and popularized one of the older parties made haste to adopt — in fact, had to adopt or else run the risk of extinction. During the two years which followed the election of 1894 the Bland-Bryan wing of the Democratic party consolidated its ranks and prepared for the coming fray. The "gold-bug" president, Grover Cleveland, was anathematized, and the continuance of hard times was blamed upon his deference to the "money power." Many western Republicans, likewise, had swung over to the free silver doctrine, and the word soon began to pass around that in 1896 all the silverites must get together. "It may be," wrote one Minnesota editor, "that this is the way it has been decreed that humanity shall advance a step." When the Silver Republicans bolted the St. Louis convention in June, 1896, under the leadership of Henry M. Teller of Colorado, the same editor made this proposition: "Suppose the democrats give up their favorite sons Boies and Bland and the people's party forego the pleasure of nominating their great genius and splendid patriot Ignatius Donnelly, and all unite in the nomination of Henry M. Teller for president?" [44]

That the silver forces would unite for the campaign was hardly open to question. But under what banner? The Populist leaders did not at first realize how powerful the

[44] *Broad Axe,* June 25, July 2, 1896. Such suggestions did not meet with universal approval. Robert Shilling of Milwaukee, the editor of a radical Wisconsin paper called the *Advance,* wrote to Donnelly on June 22, 1896: "I am raising hell about the Teller address. They wanted me to sign it, but I refused point blank. These fellows run off after strange gods at every opportunity. Wonder if the Gresham blunder at Omaha was not enough? . . . You would be my first choice, but the d—— A. P. A. nonsense would hurt you." Donnelly Papers.

free silver movement had become among the Democrats, and they fully expected their own ticket to be the only frankly silver ticket in the field. They planned that their national convention should take place in August after both the old party nominations had been made. They confidently believed that the Democrats and the Republicans would alike succumb to the pressure of the gold interests, and that the People's party would then have nothing to do but to gather up all the bolting silverites and elect its candidate. To this end they first dispatched their agents to St. Louis to induce the bolting Republicans to join forces with the Populists. It was discovered, however, that Bryan and other leading Silver Democrats were on hand to lead the apostate Republicans into the Democratic fold. A battle royal took place, with the stake the promise of the Tellerites' coöperation, and the Populists seem to have won.[45] The center of activity now shifted to Chicago, where the Populists gathered in numbers a week before the meeting of the Democratic convention "to see what can be done towards getting the silver democrats to unite with us or in some way co-operate so that we can all vote for one electoral ticket in the next campaign." But this ambitious program met an untimely end when Bryan and the silver forces captured the Chicago convention. What should the Populists, who had been the greatest agitators for a single silver ticket, do now? Should they nominate a

[45] Henry D. Lloyd, "The Populists at St. Louis," in *Review of Reviews*, 14:300 (September, 1896); H. E. Taubeneck, chairman of the national executive committee of the Populist party, to Donnelly, June 10, 20, 22, 1896, Donnelly Papers. The letter of June 22 recounts that "The Democrats had a large and influential lobby here, moving Heaven and earth to get the bolting Republicans to join the Democratic party and go to the Chicago Convention. Bryan was here the entire week. Bland also had a strong lobby on the ground. We got in touch with the bolting Republicans before the Convention opened, and agreed upon a policy" which permitted the bolting Republicans to maintain a provisional organization; planned fusion with the Populists locally in the western states on electors, Congressmen, and state and local tickets; and proposed that the Silver Republicans join the Populists in their July convention.

third ticket in August and thus divide the silver forces, or should they give their indorsement to Bryan, who was assuredly a Populist in everything but name? "Our convention never should have been postponed until after those of the old parties, with the object of catching the crumbs that might fall from their tables," scolded one of "Calamity" Weller's correspondents, but the damage was done.[46]

Eventually the Populists took Bryan, though they tried to save their separate identity by nominating a candidate of their own for the vice presidency. Many old-time Populists, especially Southerners, to whom fusion with the Democrats meant complete and abject surrender, were loath to give up the hope of a separate ticket, feeling that the preservation of the party was of even more importance than the carrying of the country for free silver.[47] They pointed also to the long list of Populist doctrines not included in the Democratic creed, and they questioned the advisability of abandoning these reforms merely to have their way on free silver. These "Middle-of-the-Roaders" seriously discussed the advisability of nominating Donnelly, or some other genuine Populist, at their St. Louis convention, and Donnelly seemed willing. "The People's party . . . needs to live," he said in a speech seconding the nomination of Watson for vice president. "I stood at the cradle of the People's party, and God forbid that I should be here to attend its funeral."[48] But the movement came to naught and Donnelly himself, doubtless discouraged by the overwhelmingly hostile attitude of the Minnesota delegation and by the assurance from home that nine-tenths of the Minnesota Populists would vote for Bryan

[46] Taubeneck to Donnelly, July 5, 1896, Donnelly Papers; G. W. Everts to Weller, July 26, 1896, Weller Papers.

[47] *Representative,* August 26, 1896.

[48] *St. Louis Republic,* July 23, 1896. It will be recalled that the Populists reversed the usual procedure and nominated the vice presidential candidate first. Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency,* 551 (New York, 1900); William J. Bryan, *The First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896,* 271 (Chicago, 1896).

even if a straight Populist ticket should be named, surrendered to the inevitable, even making an effective seconding speech for Bryan.[49]

With national fusion an accomplished fact the movement for fusion on state tickets became irresistible throughout the West. Minnesota leaders expressed whole-hearted approval of "the union of the reform forces of America under a common standard for a common cause," and reformers of every degree were encouraged to lay aside their petty differences for future settlement in order that the united front now achieved might not be broken. A single Democratic-Populist-Silver Republican ticket was agreed upon as the best mode of procedure within the state. There was fortunately substantial agreement upon John Lind of New Ulm as the man best fitted to head this ticket. Lind was a Silver Republican who had attracted the attention of all reformers by the independent and courageous stand he had taken in opposition to the majority of his party on the money question. He was of Swedish birth, but had been a resident of Minnesota since 1868. After achieving success as a lawyer and a local politician, he sat in the fiftieth, fifty-first, and fifty-second Congresses, and was the only Republican representative elected from Minnesota in 1890. In 1892 he declined to be a candidate for reëlection on the ground that he was out of harmony with his party on economic questions, and after the St. Louis Republican convention of 1896 he openly proclaimed his adherence to the bolting Teller faction of the party. His honesty and sincerity of purpose seemed not to be open to question. With the first place on the ticket conceded to the Silver Republicans there was nothing for the Democrats and Populists to do but to divide the remaining nominations between themselves. This they accomplished at conventions held in Minneapolis respectively on August 5 and August 26.

[49] Telegram from W. H. Smallwood and others to Donnelly, July 21, 1896, Donnelly Papers; *Minneapolis Journal*, July 22, 1896; *Representative*, July 29, 1896; Bryan, *The First Battle*, 279.

The platforms of the two parties were in substantial harmony, not only on free silver, but on other matters as well. With true Populist fervor the Democrats denounced the Republican party of the state "for its subservience to corporations, rings and trusts and its total disregard for the producing masses, the middle classes, the common people, farmers, mechanics and laboring men." [50]

But the Fusionists did not win. "Honest John Lind" gave the Republican candidate, Governor Clough, the race of his life, piling up a total of 162,254 votes to his opponent's 165,906. Lind, however, ran far ahead of his ticket, and all the other Fusionists were badly beaten. The electoral vote of the state and the delegation to Congress were again solidly Republican. The legislature was overwhelmingly the same.[51] Naturally such a defeat was deeply disappointing to the reform forces, and they may be pardoned for trying to explain it away. Bitter complaint was made of the success which had attended Republican efforts to frighten silverites into voting against their true sentiments. Owen's paper had this to say: "When employes . . . of railroads and other great corporations and industrial establishments are told, as they were, that if the restoration of silver was demanded their wages would be largely cut, or they would be thrown out of employment entirely by the closing of establishments, it was next to impossible for them to voice their political convictions through their ballots." [52]

Was fusion as a political device discredited by the campaign of 1896? Many Populists thought it was. The third party was composed of two distinct elements, first, the advocates of a genuine and thoroughgoing social reform who regarded

[50] *Representative,* July 8, September 2, 1896; *Broad Axe,* August 6, 20, September 3, October 29, 1896; Baker, *Lives of the Governors,* 375–394; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia,* 1896, p. 490.

[51] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia,* 1896, p. 490; *Legislative Manual,* 1897, p. 449.

[52] *Farm, Stock and Home,* 13:2 (November 15, 1896).

the entire Omaha platform as political gospel, and second, "silverites" who had little interest in the other items of the Populist creed. The latter faction still pinned its faith to fusion, but the former now demanded a return to sound Populistic doctrine, and a complete divorce from the Democrats, who had only led them astray. Donnelly, one of the most earnest of the "Middle-of-the-Road" workers, in his last days described the Democratic leaders of Minnesota as "merely a bag-pipe under the armpit of Republicanism to squeak out discordant harmony." Owen took the reverse position, arguing that for a decade the only achievements of material benefit to the people of the state had come from fusion, or at least from coöperation, "between the opponents of the reigning party and prevailing systems in the state." In the two years between 1896 and 1898 Populists tended to line up definitely on one side of this contention or on the other.[53]

The Fusionists were probably in the majority, and at any rate, thanks to the plan of campaign in 1896 they were in control of the party machinery. They arranged that the Populist state convention of 1898 be held at the time and place chosen by the Democrats and the Silver Republicans. Fusion, bordering closely upon amalgamation, might then be worked out in conference, and a common ticket, again headed by Lind, would be named. On the appointed day the "Middle-of-the-Roaders" were on hand "with blood in their eye," led of course by Donnelly. Their hope was to capture the convention and to nominate an independent ticket. Failing in that, they were determined to bolt the proceedings and in a rump convention have things their own way. There was a battle royal, but the Fusionists were in a clear majority, the vote standing 569 to 396 on a test ballot, and the Fusionist program was carried out to the letter. Next day the "Middle-

[53] Frank L. McVey, *The Populist Movement*, 182 (American Economic Association, *Economic Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3—New York, 1896); *Representative*, July 13, 1899; *Farm, Stock and Home*, 14:242 (July 1, 1898).

of-the-Roaders" had a session by themselves, named a ticket of their own headed by L. C. Long, and adopted a platform in harmony with their views. "We refuse to get into the grave," said Donnelly, "where the Greenback party lies, fused to death." [54]

In the election which followed Lind won the governorship, although the rest of the Fusionist ticket was defeated. Lind's chances of success were considerably bettered when he accepted the post of quartermaster in one of the Spanish-American War regiments from Minnesota and fearlessly left the state to his opponents on the very eve of the campaign. On the other hand, William H. Eustis, the Republican nominee, suffered from the bitter opposition of a faction within his own party headed by none other than Governor Clough himself.[55] As for the "Middle-of-the-Road" ticket, it cut but a sorry figure. Donnelly's apology for this circumstance, however, is hardly convincing. "In this state," he wrote, "the real strength of our midroad ticket was immensely reduced by our disgusted people going squarely over to the Republican party. They sought revenge on the Democrats, who had invaded our ranks, bought up our leaders, and forced their loathsome nuptials on our unhappy people." [56] A simpler and more plausible explanation would seem to be that the "Middle-of-the-Roaders" merely lacked the votes. By the year 1898 radical Populism, not only in Minnesota but also throughout the nation, had run its course. The Democrats under Bryan had robbed the Populists of many of their favorite reforms, and even among the Republicans such men as Theodore Roosevelt had already begun to demand with Populistic eloquence the rule of the people rather than the

[54] *Representative,* June 15, 22, 1898; *Broad Axe,* June 16, 1898; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia,* 1898, p. 458.

[55] *Farm, Stock and Home,* 14:274 (August 1, 1898); *Broad Axe,* July 7, 1898; *Representative,* September 9, 1898; Baker, *Lives of the Governors,* 368, 385.

[56] *Representative,* November 16, 1898.

rule of the party bosses. A Republican "counter-reformation" was on the way, and but for the Spanish-American War it would have broken out much sooner than it did. Populism, one might almost say, was crushed between the upper millstone of Roosevelt Republicanism and the nether millstone of Bryan Democracy. Furthermore, prosperity had replaced adversity, and the prolonged spell of hard times, which had heretofore proved so valuable an ally to political agitators, incontinently deserted.

There is little need of following the Populist movement further. Lind made a good record as governor, but he became a Democrat, not a Populist, and he was not reëlected. In 1900 the form of fusion was maintained, but the substance was lacking, as far as the Populist faction was concerned. This once formidable and aggressive organization had become "merely a side show of the Democratic party, bound to do the bidding of its conquerors and its bosses, and having no principles, so far as the public can see, which are not taken care of by the stronger organization" [57] — "fused to death," as Donnelly had feared. A handful of active "Middle-of-the-Roaders" showed much greater per capita vitality, but they lacked numbers sorely. They nominated candidates in 1900 on state and national tickets by referendum ballots rather than by conventions,[58] and for years thereafter their scattered voices crying in the wilderness prepared the way for the Roosevelt revolt of 1912 and the La Follette movement of 1924.

But in spite of the anticlimactic career of the People's party the fundamental principle for which the original Populists fought survived and grew. They grasped the idea that the extreme individualism of the old frontier was forever a thing of the past, and that the combination of the many

[57] Quoted from the *Minneapolis Tribune* in the *Representative* of May 3, 1900.

[58] *Representative,* January 4, May 10, September 13, 1900.

who were left behind in the mad race for prosperity to control the few who had forged farthest ahead was an absolute necessity if anything like equality of opportunity was to be maintained. Pioneers of an earlier age had barely tolerated government as a necessary evil, but these farmers of the last American frontier could see no other way to check the aggressive tendencies of those who opposed their interests than the interposition of the power of the state. Once they had believed in the slogan, "The less government the better," but now they saw that all ordinary men must join together in demanding an extension of governmental activity. The common people must take control of the government in order to make of it an instrument of the popular will and an adequate check on those who would otherwise make it the tool of special interests. "In brief," as Mr. Turner puts it, "the defenses of the pioneer democrat" had shifted "from free land to legislation, from the ideal of individualism to the ideal of social control through regulation by law."[59] And that newer ideal despite setbacks both violent and recent still stands.

JOHN D. HICKS

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
LINCOLN

[59] Turner, *Frontier in American History*, 277, 305–307.

NEW LIGHT ON RED RIVER VALLEY HISTORY[1]

In my work as curator of manuscripts for the Minnesota Historical Society, I have opportunity to discover much unpublished and practically unknown material on the history of different parts of the state and the region. Handling and reading day by day old letters, account books, diaries, reminiscences, and similar data, I come to know, after weeks and months, the papers which contain items of interest for special localities. From the standpoint of economy it seems useful to draw up brief accounts of this material from time to time so that persons who desire to learn more of their local history may know the manuscript sources on the subject. It is with this end in view that I want to tell you today about some little-known documents from which one can learn much about past events and conditions in the Red River Valley. I shall speak chiefly of unpublished manuscripts in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Some are copies of documents in other places. Many, however, are the original manuscripts.

Though actual settlement began late in this valley, the region has an intensely interesting history extending back into fur-trade days, when it was one of the chief avenues of communication between the fur posts in the north central part of the continent and the rest of the world. As long ago as 1768, eight years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, a document was written at Mackinac, instructing a certain James Tute to proceed up the Mississippi, past the Falls of St. Anthony into the Sioux country, and thence to Fort La Prairie in what is now southern Manitoba.

[1] Read at the state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society at Detroit, June 21, 1924.

Such a route would necessitate traveling through a considerable portion of the Red River Valley. Though the journey as originally mapped was never taken, the instructions indicate more or less knowledge of the valley and of the location of fur posts in it and are of interest to us as one of the earliest references to the valley after Canada and the Northwest passed from French to English control.[2]

The next manuscript, in chronological order, which interests us here is a diary kept by a certain John McDonell, a fur-trader on the Qu' Appelle River, a branch of the Assiniboine. The latter stream joins the Red River at Winnipeg, entering from the west. This diary, kept for part of the year 1793, and that of Archibald Norman McLeod, another fur-trader whose post was on a branch of the Assiniboine, kept for a part of the year 1800–01, make many references to the Red River, the valley, the fur trade, the buffaloes, and the Indians. One finds in these diaries family names that are still heard in Minnesota.[3]

Manuscripts relating to the valley after the year 1800 are more numerous. In the minutes of the Northwest Company, discovered in Montreal last summer, we can find records of the wages and provisions of the men who wintered on the upper and lower Red River — for the two portions were always distinguished — and the names of the traders for

[2] Mr. T. C. Elliott has published this document in his "Jonathan Carver's Source for the Name Oregon" in the Oregon Historical Society's *Quarterly*, 23:65–68 (March, 1922). The Minnesota Historical Society secured its photostatic reproduction from a contemporary copy of the document in the Gerrard Papers of the Baby Collection in the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice, Montreal. This contemporary copy differs slightly from the copy in the Public Record Office, London, which Mr. Elliott has printed.

[3] Photostatic copies of these diaries have been made for the Minnesota Historical Society from the original documents in the Redpath Library of McGill University, Montreal. McDonell's diary is anonymous; the process by which it was identified is described *ante*, p. 306. The last entries of this early diary overlap the opening remarks of McDonell's diary for 1793–95, extracts from which are published more or less accurately in Louis R. Masson's *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest*, 1:283–295 (Quebec, 1889).

1806.[4] An interesting agreement between the Northwest and Michilimackinac companies, made in December, 1806, and recorded in these minutes divides the fur trade of the region between the two rival companies. One clause reads:

That the said North West Compy shall establish no Posts on the Grand Red River higher up than the Entrance of the Chayenne River into the said Red River and shall not Trade with the Scioux Nation. That the said North West Company shall not establish any Posts beyond the height of land dividing the waters of the *quéué de loutre* [Otter Tail River]. . . . That the said Michilimackinac Company shall not establish any Posts higher up the Mississippi than the Entrance of the River *Aile de Corbeau* [Crow Wing] and that River or the direct water Communication from the Mississippi to the quéué de Loutre shall be the boundary between the said Companies to the Height of Land at quéué de Loutre. That the said Michilimackinac Company shall not establish any Posts for Trade on the Red River nor navigate that River, unless for the purpose of gaining the River Commonly called the Riviere des Scioux [*Big Sioux River*].

Thus, it can be seen, the valley was considered a rich source for furs, and each company was to have control of a certain portion of it.

For the period from 1806 to 1823 we find few manuscripts relating to the region. Doubtless there are many letters, diaries, and other papers in existence written in these years, for the Selkirk settlers arrived during this period and settled where Winnipeg and its environs now are; and many must have been the letters sent back to anxious friends and relatives in England and Scotland and many the diaries kept. Sometime before it is too late, it is to be hoped that much of this material will be located and used for historical purposes. At present, however, we must pass over these years to 1823,

[4] The minutes of the Northwest Company for the period from June 30, 1801, to February 28, 1811, were discovered among the Gerrard Papers of the Baby Collection in the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice by Dr. Wayne E. Stevens of Dartmouth College while he was searching for manuscripts of Minnesota interest. A photostatic copy has been secured by the Minnesota Historical Society. See *ante*, p. 306.

when Major Stephen H. Long was sent to establish the exact location of the forty-ninth degree as the boundary between the United States and British North America. From Keating's published accounts we know a very great deal about the expedition that passed down the entire length of the Red River Valley from Lake Traverse to Lake Winnipeg one hundred years ago last summer. How many people, however, know that the original diaries kept by the leader of the party are now in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society? Minute descriptions of rivers, lakes, prairies, trees, and other natural characteristics are given; and, most interesting of all, a series of very accurate maps illustrates the record of daily marches.[5] For the first time the Red River Valley was thoroughly explored and a scientific account of it rendered. It may be interesting to note that Long's investigations showed that Pembina was within the territory of the United States. It was, in fact, the first settlement in the American portion of the valley.

From 1823 we will pass to 1836 and 1837, when Martin McLeod kept an interesting diary on an expedition through northern Minnesota, down the Red River to the Selkirk colony, then up that river to Lake Traverse, and down the Minnesota to Fort Snelling. I will not deal fully with this record of adventure and romance, because it is to appear in a short time in the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, the quarterly publication of the Minnesota Historical Society. After Long's diaries, it is the next extensive account of the valley which we have, and it is very valuable for its descriptions of the country and the Indians.[6]

[5] The two-volume work by William H. Keating, geologist and historiographer of Long's expedition, entitled *Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of the St. Peter's River* (Philadelphia, 1824), embodies some of the material in Long's manuscript diaries; but the most valuable portions from many points of view, the maps, have not been reproduced.

[6] Since the reading of this paper McLeod's diary has been printed in the belated August–November, 1922, number of the BULLETIN (see *ante*, 4: 351–439).

I will mention here manuscript records of censuses taken at the Red River settlement in the years 1838, 1840, 1843, and 1846–47. These documents are kept at the Provincial Library in Winnipeg, but photostatic copies have been ordered for the Minnesota Historical Society because of its interest in the Red River settlers, many of whom became United States citizens just across the border in North Dakota and Minnesota. These records give such facts about each settler as his name and age; the number of cows, pigs, sheep, plows, horses, canoes, carts, and boats which he owned; and the amount of land which he cultivated.[7]

Similar records for the American portion of the valley are to be found in the census records for the Territory of Wisconsin in 1840, which included portions of what is now Minnesota; in the schedules of the census for Minnesota Territory taken in 1850; in the national census records of the state for 1860 and 1870; and in the state census records for 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, and 1905. These records, which are preserved in the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society, are invaluable for the early history of the Red River Valley. It is interesting to note in the population schedules of 1840 and 1850 how large a percentage of the settlers of Minnesota were born in the Selkirk colony.[8]

During the forties the valley became a commercial highway of no little importance. The Red River settlement was growing and its inhabitants wanted to market their furs and agricultural surplus more advantageously than had been

[7] Photostatic copies of these census schedules have been obtained since this statement was written.

[8] A photostatic copy of the population schedule of the census for 1840 of Crawford County, Wisconsin, now largely within the state of Minnesota, has been made from the original schedule in the federal census bureau. The schedules of the census of 1857, taken for the purpose of determining whether Minnesota Territory had a sufficient number of inhabitants to become a state, have been located in the federal census bureau since this paper was read. Plans are afoot to secure copies of these schedules and so to complete the set of early census records for Minnesota.

possible when England, by way of a ship from Hudson Bay, was more accessible than any American market. After settlement began at the mouth of the Minnesota River, however, the colonists on the Red River gradually changed their market until annual processions of squeaking Red River carts carrying furs, tallow, and some other articles to St. Paul, and general provisions and household goods on the return trip, became a common sight along the so-called "Red River trail."

This trail constitutes such an important item in Red River Valley history that many persons are beginning to ask the questions: when was it first established and through which villages and towns of today did it pass? Although there is manuscript material relating to the establishment of the "woods" and "plains" trails, we shall pass over this phase of the matter and deal with their courses. The "plains" trail left the Mississippi at St. Cloud, struck the Red River at Breckenridge, and passed down the west bank of the river. The "woods" trail passed through Crow Wing, up the Crow Wing and Leaf river valleys, skirted the northeast corner of Otter Tail Lake, passed Detroit Lake, and followed the right bank of the Red River to Pembina. For the latter trail we have accurate manuscript charts made by two United States engineers, E. A. Holmes and George H. Belden, in the years 1855 and 1857, when the traffic on the trails was very heavy. These give woods, streams, marshes, lakes and other natural features in such minuteness that one can readily map the trail in a given locality, for instance, in the vicinity of Detroit. One of the most prominent traders on the "plains" trail was Norman W. Kittson, many of whose letters deal with the fur trade at his post, Pembina, and with trips up and down the valley.[9]

[9] These charts are a part of the Alfred J. Hill Collection, a valuable group of maps, diagrams, and papers relating to Minnesota geography and exploration. Norman W. Kittson's letters are, in the main, in the Sibley Papers, which include considerable other material on people and events in the Red River Valley after 1834.

Other manuscript sources for data on the Red River Valley are missionaries' letters, diaries, and reminiscences. Thus the Reverend William T. Boutwell, a Congregational missionary at Leech Lake for several years in the thirties, kept a diary in which many allusions are made to events and people in the valley. Many of his letters to Henry H. Sibley and to other missionaries have been preserved, and some of these contain items of interest for our purpose.[10]

The most interesting and unique Minnesota missionary data, however, are the reminiscences of the Reverend Sela G. Wright, who was stationed at the mission farm on Red Lake during the forties and fifties. Very little else has ever been written or known about this mission, but Wright's reminiscences are quite full and tell, for example, of a farm which could produce three thousand bushels of corn and two thousand bushels of potatoes, besides other vegetables, in 1848, when all the rest of northern and western Minnesota was a wilderness — an enterprise worthy of more than passing remark by the historian. Among the incidents recounted by Wright is the story of a trip to the Red River settlement in December, 1843, to purchase oxen and cows. He includes a description of the sled used on the return trip. An interesting study should be made sometime of methods of travel in the Red River Valley, for this sled appears to have been quite an unusual contrivance — an oak board turned up at one end after the manner of our toboggans. It resembled a dog sled but was drawn by an ox and was fifteen feet in length.[11]

[10] Only a copy of Boutwell's diary has been preserved. This is in the handwriting of J. Fletcher Williams, the secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society from 1867 to 1893. Records in Williams' hand seem to indicate that he made the transcript from the original diary, which was lent to the society for copying by Boutwell himself.

[11] The manuscript reminiscences which Wright dictated in 1890 are now in the possession of the Oberlin College Library, which in 1920 generously permitted the Minnesota Historical Society to make a copy. See *ante*, 3:370.

Thus we have reached the fifties, when settlers began to arrive in the valley. And now we come to a manuscript, recently acquired, which deals exclusively with the valley. It was written in 1857 by Increase A. Lapham of Milwaukee, who had just made a trip to the region. A very minute description of the topography, history, and settlement of the valley is given. In a word, Lapham was boosting the region, desiring to see it fill with immigrants. He mentions some of the towns, just building — Lapham, Breckenridge, Cold Spring, Holmes City, Winthrop, Mansfield, Reno, Bellevue, and others. "The settlers in these places," he says, "are nearly all Americans — and of the right stamp for pioneer work. Courage, hope, patience & industry can have their freest & fullest development in this newly sought frontier." He continues his account of a trip into the valley and remarks, "We saw a few deserted wigwams; they told us of a race fast vanishing from existence; while our little white tent, newly pitched, whispered to us of the onward march of that mighty wave of immigration, flowing on towards the setting sun, soon to cultivate this goodly land." [12]

For the late fifties, the early sixties, and the seventies, one can glean an amazing amount of knowledge of activities, men, and conditions in this valley from the papers of James W. Taylor. His position as American special agent and later as consul at Winnipeg gave him opportunity to exert a large influence in shaping the destiny of the valley. His efforts to annex the British portion of the valley to the Union are well known. Few persons, however, know of his intimacy with some of the great railroad magnates of the day, notably with Jay Cooke, Lord Strathcona, and Lord Mount Stephen. His endeavor was to extend railroad connections into the lower valley. Incidentally in so doing he came into contact with George L. Becker, for whom Becker County is named. Con-

[12] The original manuscript by Lapham is owned by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, from which a typed copy was obtained in May, 1924. See *ante*, p. 506.

siderable correspondence with Becker and many allusions to him are found in Taylor's correspondence.[13]

In 1869 a traveler, Mr. A. W. Graham, journeying from St. Paul to the settlements on the lower Red River, kept a diary which has recently come to light. I wrote to him and received a reply about six weeks ago relative to the diary, which he modestly deprecates as a youthful effort. It proves very profitable reading, however, for one interested in Red River Valley history. Certain entries I will quote to show the flavor of the diary:

July 8 We arrived at St. Paul in the morning and the same evening found us at St. Cloud. The first thing attracting our attention were Red River carts and half-breed drivers. These carts were made without iron or nails, the tires even being rawhide called "Shaganapi." They are made with shafts and one ox to a cart, with harness much like horse harness, but more crude, made mostly of rawhide. The axles are never oiled, and in driving each wheel makes a different kind of music, which can be heard on a still day or night for miles. There is one driver for three to five carts. These were the freight cars carrying goods west.

July 16 Travelled 48 miles today. At noon crossed the Ottertail River. Passed two trains of Red River carts. A beautiful country. . . . We are making on an average 42 miles per day.

July 17 Reached Fort Abercrombie The fort is on the Dakota side of the Red River. Some American soldiers have been stationed here since the Sioux massacre in 1862. The river is crossed by a ferry boat. We got our wagon repaired and bought some provisions.[14]

[13] The Taylor Papers constitute one of the largest and most important manuscript collections owned by the Minnesota Historical Society. They cover the years 1852 to 1893 and consist of thirteen filing boxes filled mainly with correspondence, twenty letter books, three scrapbooks, and a few miscellaneous items. Theodore C. Blegen's "James Wickes Taylor: A Biographical Sketch," published *ante,* 1: 153–219, contains a description and an evaluation of the Taylor Papers.

[14] This diary has been printed under the title "Diary of A. W. Graham during the Red River Rebellion" in *Reminiscences of Early Settlers and*

As Fort Abercrombie has been mentioned, we will consider another reference to it in the diary of Samuel R. Bond, a member of Captain James L. Fisk's expedition to escort the gold-diggers across the western plains in the summer of 1862, when the Indians were still too numerous and too hostile for emigrant trains to pass unprotected.[15] The party of emigrants and soldiers left St. Paul, followed the "plains" trail to Breckenridge, and crossed the Red River to Fort Abercrombie on the western shore. Here they arrived in time to celebrate the Fourth of July, which Bond describes thus:

Friday July 4 Remained in camp today to participate in a celebration at the Fort of the anniversary of our national Independence, and to allow some teams still on the road to overtake us. A Salute of 13 guns was fired at day break at the Fort. Capt Fisk and his party having horses formed a cavalcade and at nine o'clock A.M. proceeded to the Fort where they were received by officers and men of the Garrison & escorted in procession around the Fort and vicinity. At a place called the "Old Fort" they were unexpectedly joined by the rest of Capt Fisks party, armed with shovels, spades &c indicative of the vocation of Gold-Seekers. Here all were generously entertained with the wholesome teutonic beverage, lager beer.

The garrison, after a salute of musketry, escorted us to our Camp where our men got their guns and fired a salute. All the horsemen then took a gallop across the prairie. At 5 o'clock P.M. about 200 or 250 men and about 20 ladies met in the area of the Fort around the noble flag-staff recently erected, and seated in tents erected and adorned with green boughs prepared by the Garrison, awaited the exercises that had been projected for the occasion.

After telling about the reading of the Declaration of Independence and the delivery of several appropriate speeches, Bond continues as follows:

Other Records, 70–84 (Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute, *Publications,* vol. 4 — St. Thomas, Ontario, 1911). Mr. Graham resides at St. Thomas.

[15] The original of this diary has been deposited by the author with the Ipswich (Massachusetts) Historical Society, which has permitted the Minnesota Historical Society to make a typed copy. See *ante,* 4:450.

At night a ball was given by Capt Vander Horck at his Headquarters. Thermometer stood at 101° in shade at 3 oclk

Saturday, July 5 . . . Another ball was given at Headquarters of Capt Vander Horck tonight.

After we had all gone to our camp and to sleep tonight we were suddenly aroused and startled by the Indian war-whoop, drum-beating and all the other sounds that characterize an Indian war-dance or battle, in close proximity to our Headquarters, and coming nearer and still more near. Upon our sallying from our tent we encountered our hospitable entertainers . . . and about 15 men from the Garrison who had determined to pas[s] our sentinels, if possible, and give us a foretaste of what we might expect during our Camp-life in an Indian country. Our sentinels could not refuse to pass into our camp at any hour of day or night those who had welcomed us to their hospitalities with such cordiality and generosity.

Our assailants presented a mug of lager to each of our throats and after receiving their fire with firmness and unbroken lines we planted a small howitzer of bourbon at our tent-door and returned the fire to the best of our ability. The combat then closed, our assailants retired and left us to sleep on the field.

Bond's journal of over two hundred pages presents a vivid picture of the upper valley in 1862, giving the author's impressions of the towns, the country-side, and the Indians. On the same journey one of Bond's friends also kept a diary.[16] His entry for July 2 reads in part: "reached Breckenridge by a little after noon. B. is made of one Hotel (empty) & a saw mill."

I will close this paper by advising any who are interested in the early days of the valley to read a recent book called *Women of Red River, Being a Book Written from the Recollections of Women Surviving from the Red River Era,* by W. J. Healy of Winnipeg.[17] Although it relates primarily

[16] Dr. William D. Dibb kept diaries of the Fisk expeditions of 1862, 1863, and 1864, photostatic copies of which have been made by the Minnesota Historical Society from the original in the possession of Mrs. Jeremiah E. Fitzgerald of St. Paul, a daughter of the author. See *ante,* p. 225.

[17] This little volume was published in Winnipeg by the Women's Canadian Club in 1923. It is reviewed *ante,* p. 493–495.

to Manitoba, there are constant references to trips through northwestern Minnesota to St. Paul. One woman making a journey to Illinois via St. Paul in 1848 "saw the newly-built log cabin of Pierre Bottineau, which was then the only building on the site of Minneapolis." [18] What a retrospect for this woman of ninety-two! Think of watching this beautiful valley develop from the days of Indians, Red River carts, and no white men's habitations south of Pembina to the present with its scenes of prosperous farms and thriving towns! It savors almost of the miraculous to have witnessed such changes within the limits of one life time.

Such are some of the available sources of Red River history, nearly all in manuscript form. You who are proud of this unique history will do well to preserve its sources — by presenting to your local or state historical society any diaries, letters, account books, or other manuscripts which relate in any way to the region. It is from such documents that authoritative history is made. Few regions in America have a more interesting or picturesque history and few offer more possibilities for the discovery of manuscripts that will open up wholly new chapters of that history. It is for you of the valley to locate these papers and preserve them.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

[18] Healy, *Women of Red River*, 29. Bottineau's house was in St. Anthony, which did not become a part of Minneapolis until 1872. Daniel S. B. Johnston, in a manuscript entitled "The Beginnings of St. Anthony, Minneapolis, and the University of Minnesota," calls Bottineau's house the second in St. Anthony.

THE STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION AT DETROIT

Three state historical conventions under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society have now been held — the first at Duluth in 1922, the second at Redwood Falls in 1923, and the third at Detroit in 1924. Thus the northeastern, southwestern, and northwestern sections of the state have each had a state-wide convention at which Minnesota history and the problems connected with local history organization have been considered and the background of the general region of the meeting has been exploited.

A year ago the "historical tourists" followed the trail of Major Stephen H. Long and drove up the valley of the Minnesota River, the region of the Sioux Outbreak of 1862. This year the western trail of the lumbering Red River carts was followed and the tourists made their way to the most renowned wheat-growing area in the West — the Red River Valley. The convention was held on Friday and Saturday, June 20 and 21, at Detroit, — the heart of Minnesota's picturesque western "lake country," — upon the invitation of the mayor, the Becker County Historical Society, and members and friends of the state historical society in that city. The annual convention of the League of Minnesota Municipalities was held in Detroit on June 19, 20, and 21, and the two organizations coöperated in the making of arrangements.

Preparations for the historical convention were made by two committees. A general committee of the society with Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll of St. Paul, first vice president of the society as chairman, and Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, the assistant superintendent, as secretary, was appointed to plan for the convention. The other members of this committee

were: Dr. William Anderson, Mrs. Marshall H. Coolidge, Edward C. Gale, Herschel V. Jones, Cecil W. Shirk, and Andrew A. Stomberg of Minneapolis; Mrs. Charles E. Furness, James M. McConnell, and Dr. Clarence W. Rife of St. Paul; Conrad G. Selvig and Halvor Steenerson of Crookston; Dr. Leonard C. Weeks and John K. West of Detroit; Ray B. MacLean and Herman C. Nordlie of Moorhead; Elmer E. Adams of Fergus Falls; Horace B. Ayres of Kimberly; William Bottineau of Plummer; Roe Chase of Anoka; Dr. Edwin B. Dean of Northfield; Otis B. De Laurier of Long Prairie; Mrs. Julia B. Friday of Hawley; Mrs. Frank A. Hancock of Morris; Constant Larson of Alexandria; William B. Mitchell of St. Cloud; Asher Murray of Wadena; Richard D. Musser of Little Falls; Oscar A. Naplin of Thief River Falls; Dr. Charles L. Scofield of Benson; Halvor Shirley of Breckenridge; and Charles W. Stanton of Bemidji.

The local arrangements at Detroit were made by a committee of which Mr. John K. West was chairman, and Dr. Leonard C. Weeks, secretary; the other members being Alexander Cherry, Mrs. Lillie E. Dix, Henry N. Jenson, Mrs. C. W. Mee, Gustav J. Norby, Mrs. Mina Peoples, and Leonard U. Towle of Detroit; Marx Jess, Mrs. W. F. Just, Mrs. E. W. F. Sharp, and Arthur D. White of Frazee; L. C. McKinstry and Peter Sathre of Audubon; John Beggin and Henry O. Bjorge of Lake Park; and Mrs. George McKinley and Arthur W. Sanderson of Osage.

The convention was preceded by an automobile tour on June 19 from the Twin Cities. The cars assembled at 8:30 A.M. in Anoka, where the party was greeted by Mr. Roe Chase, the editor of the *Anoka Herald*. The first stop was made at the Minnesota State Reformatory at St. Cloud where the tourists were served refreshments through the courtesy of the superintendent of the institution, Mr. Charles E. Vasaly. When the party stopped at Little Falls it included approximately twenty-five persons in five cars. A complimentary

luncheon was given at Little Falls, in the dining hall of the Elks' Home, by Mr. and Mrs. R. D. Musser. An official welcome was extended by the mayor, Mr. Nels Bergheim, who directed attention to an interesting local problem in historical marking. The site of the fort built by Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike on his famous trip of exploration in 1805–06 four miles below the present city of Little Falls was marked in 1919 with a monument and a bronze tablet. Mr. Bergheim announced that this marker, unless it is moved, will be submerged by the river as a result of a new water power project. After a brief talk by Mr. L. B. Tanner, president of the Little Falls Board of Commerce, and a response on behalf of the visitors by Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, the entire party motored to the site of the Pike fort, on the west side of the river. The general opinion seemed to be that the wisest plan would be to remove the monument to the opposite side of the river, near the main highway, where thousands of passing tourists would be able to see it.[1] After this excursion the journey was resumed to Detroit, where most of the members of the party arrived in the evening.

One of the most interesting features of the convention was a series of historical exhibits planned and assembled by the local committee and placed in store windows along the main street of the city. These exhibits illustrated many sides of the historical development of Becker County and western Minnesota generally. The bringing together of the objects was a practical demonstration of the local museum possibilities in Minnesota counties. The work enlisted the interest and participation of hundreds of Becker County people and thus had a very distinct local value quite apart from the unusual interest which the displays awakened among the people who

[1] It is announced in the *Little Falls Daily Transcript* for September 9 that the Pike monument has now been moved back on higher ground, six hundred feet northwest of its former site.

thronged Detroit during the convention week. The Minnesota Historical Society sent its traveling exhibit to Detroit where it was displayed in the First Congregational Church, which served as the convention headquarters. At the convention 102 persons were registered, 26 of whom were Detroit residents and 77 outsiders. There were 29 members of the society present, only 2 of whom were from Detroit. At some of the sessions there was a considerable attendance of delegates to the convention of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, few of whom were represented in the society's registration.

The program was one of unusual variety and interest. In responding to a speech of welcome by Mr. John K. West at the opening session, Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll pointed out that "accurate knowledge of the history of a people is the foundation upon which society must build its future progress," and he defined the purposes of the society's summer meetings in these words: "to stimulate local history activity and to emphasize the importance of a broad and comprehensive knowledge of the history of Minnesota and the Northwest." The general program of the convention undoubtedly did tend to carry out these purposes. There were five sessions, and the program included fifteen papers and addresses, not counting a number of talks given at an informal local history conference on the second day. Of these papers and addresses, seven were given by western Minnesota people, two by professors of American history in neighboring state universities, four by staff members or officers of the society, and two by former students in the history department of the University of Minnesota.

Naturally much emphasis was put upon the history of the Red River Valley and of western Minnesota generally. Indeed, no less than seven papers dealt in full or in part with subjects falling within this field. Taken together they constituted an interesting and well-rounded symposium on western Minnesota history. That the story of the Red River Valley

possesses dramatic possibilities was brought out in a paper entitled "Reconstructing the Past of the Red River Valley," by Conrad G. Selvig, superintendent of the Northwest School and Station of the University of Minnesota.[2] He told about the Red River "Pageant of Prosperity" which was given in November, 1923, in connection with the twentieth anniversary of the Red River Valley Dairymen's Association at Crookston. The text of the pageant, which was written by Mr. Selvig, presents a dramatic tableau review of the development of the valley along various lines.

A paper on "The Cadotte Family and the Fur Trade of the Northwest, 1760–1810," by Miss Honora McLachlan of Glenwood, possessed both a general Minnesota and a special Red River Valley interest. She gave particular attention to the careers of Jean Baptiste Cadotte, a French-Canadian, and of his eldest son, Jean Baptiste Cadotte, a half-breed, both prominent fur-traders in the Lake Superior region during the British régime. Miss McLachlan read her paper unaware of the fact that among her auditors sat a great-great-granddaughter of the first Jean Cadotte. The elder Cadotte was in charge of the fort at the Sault de Ste. Marie upon the outbreak of the French and Indian War and there he was visited by Alexander Henry on May 19, 1762. He was the only French trader of importance to remain there after the war. The influence of Cadotte upon the Indians at the Sault, which was very great, according to Miss McLachlan, is best shown by the fact that he prevented them from joining the conspiracy of Pontiac. When the fur trade was resumed in 1765 Cadotte and Alexander Henry formed a partnership licensed for the exclusive fur trade on Lake Superior. They soon pushed their operations into the interior, however, and in 1775, in company with Peter Pond and

[2] Mr. Selvig was unable to be present at the session and his paper was read by a member of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society. His paper is printed in the *Detroit Record* for June 27, 1924.

other traders, they reached Cumberland House in Saskatchewan. Cadotte with four canoes made his way to Fort des Prairies. In addition to carrying on independent fur-trading operations, Cadotte on numerous occasions gave service to the government. In 1785 he participated in the organization "known as the General Company of Lake Superior and the South for the purpose of regulating the trade of Mackinac and its dependencies." Eleven years later, broken in health, he transferred his business interests to his sons, Jean Baptiste and Michel.

Miss McLachlan told of the expedition organized in the summer of 1792 by Jean Baptiste Cadotte, the younger, to the region about the headwaters of the Mississippi with a party of trappers and traders numbering approximately sixty men and including his brother Michel. He left the Sault late in the summer of 1792 and went into the Minnesota interior by way of the St. Louis River and Sandy Lake. Thence the party probably went down the Mississippi to the Crow Wing River and from there to the mouth of the Leaf River, where it wintered. The next spring the party ascended the Leaf River and made its way to the Red River and to Prairie Portage. It returned to Grand Portage late in the summer of 1793. The speaker gave several illustrations of the deftness with which Cadotte dealt with hostile Indians. She attributed much importance to the expedition in connection with the opening of the upper Mississippi country to the fur trade. Cadotte himself, she said, entered the service of the Northwest Company, which soon established posts at Fond du Lac, Sandy Lake, Leech Lake, and other points in the Fond du Lac department. The speaker briefly reviewed the later career of Cadotte. He probably wintered in 1794–95 at Red Cedar or Cass Lake and in 1796–97 at Red Lake. In 1797 he took over the management of the Fond du Lac department on shares. In 1798 he was at Red Lake River, on the site of the present city of Red Lake Falls, where he

was visited by David Thompson. In 1801, upon the organization of the Northwest Company, Cadotte was one of six persons admitted as partners. Two years later he was expelled because of drunkenness. The remaining period of his life was passed in obscurity. He died in 1818. "Both father and son were men of ability, energy, and courage," said Miss McLachlan in conclusion. "The loyalty of both to the British was unquestioned. Their knowledge of the Indians and the Indian language, their sympathetic understanding of Indian character, together with the complete confidence of the Indians themselves, rendered their services invaluable in the rapid extension of the fur trade when British influence was paramount in the Northwest."

A contribution to the history of Norwegian settlement in western Minnesota was made in an interesting paper entitled "Paul Hjelm-Hansen and Western Minnesota Settlement," by Sigurd Melby of Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis. Hjelm-Hansen was a Norwegian-American newspaper man who was appointed by the governor of Minnesota in the summer of 1869 to act as an agent of the state board of immigration. In a wagon drawn by oxen, Hjelm-Hansen left Alexandria on July 12, 1869, and drove as far west as Fort Abercrombie and Georgetown, everywhere making inquiries of settlers and carefully observing conditions. In a series of well-written letters, published in newspapers both in Norway and in this country, he advertised the resources of the Red River Valley and urged Norwegian immigrants and settlers to go to that fertile region. Mr. Melby read many selections from the Hjelm-Hansen letters and indicated that they constitute a mine of detailed, first-hand information, of value for Minnesota social history. The letters were apparently one not unimportant factor in impelling thousands of Norwegians to seek land in the frontier counties of the state.

In a suggestive paper by Dr. Orin G. Libby, professor of American history in the University of North Dakota, an

attempt was made to assess "The Significance of the Red River Valley in American History." He first called attention to the setting of the history of the valley. It is a portion of the drainage basin of Hudson Bay, lying partly in Canada and partly in the United States. It was the battle ground of Dakota and Chippewa for more than a century. Finally the latter expelled their enemies and held the northern part of the valley as far west as the Turtle Mountains. "Because of the friendship of the Chippewas for the French," said Dr. Libby, "the Dakotas never tolerated the presence of the latter west of the Mississippi River." La Vérendrye used the Red River Valley as an important link in his line of trading posts from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains. In the conflict of the fur-traders and the Northwest Company against the Hudson's Bay Company in the period from 1763 to 1821, "both contestants had field headquarters in the Red River Valley and carried on the fur trade war with the utmost bitterness." At one time, according to the speaker, three competing companies had posts at Pembina within a short distance of each other. He then spoke of the establishment of Lord Selkirk's colony at the present site of the city of Winnipeg and of the bitter hostility between the settlers and the Northwest Company. When the companies united in 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company was placed in absolute command of the territory and governed despotically. This led to the gradual dispersal of many of the settlers southward into that part of the Red River Valley belonging to the United States. Trade routes to the southward were established and the people under the Hudson's Bay Company began a fight for political and commercial freedom. "The gradual extension of American settlements northward into the Red River Valley had a considerable influence in hastening the granting of full citizenship rights to the Canadians in this valley," Dr. Libby said. The speaker suggested in conclusion that "the fact that the United States and Canada have had a common

interest in the exploration and settlement of the Red River Valley suggests that there are many subjects of historic interest which they must study jointly in order to secure permanent results."

The viewpoint of the pioneer must not be neglected in studying the past of the Red River Valley. A participant's testimony was embodied in a paper by Mrs. George McKinley of Osage, entitled "Aspects of Early Settlement in Becker County."[3] Mrs. McKinley told the story of her father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Way, and claimed for her parents the honor of being Becker County's "first white settlers." A Hoosier by birth, Henry Way was a man with the pioneer's instinct. He joined the Pike's Peak gold rush and took the battle cry of that movement so seriously that he climbed to the top of Pike's Peak. In 1865 he came to Minnesota from Iowa in a caravan of "covered wagons." The party went as far west as Battle Lake, and three years later Way staked a claim on Oak Lake in Becker County. Mrs. McKinley gave the exact date of this event — June 28, 1868. She then told of the settlement of her father in Becker County and of many pioneer hardships borne by her mother. Mrs. McKinley, in her paper, seemed to catch the spirit of pioneer life in a way that is impossible to those who are not themselves a part of that past, who cannot say, as did Aeneas, "*et quorum pars magna fui.*"

A much appreciated feature of the program was an exhibition of colored slides, entitled "Becker County History in Pictures," which was presented by Dr. Leonard C. Weeks, president of the Becker County Historical Society, as the last number on the program of the Friday evening session. Pictures of early settlers, pioneer teachers, and Indians, and views of Detroit and other places in Becker County at differ-

[3] In the absence of Mrs. McKinley this paper was read at the Friday afternoon session by Dr. Weeks. Under the title of "Mr. and Mrs. Henry Way," the paper is printed in the *Detroit Record* for July 14, 1924.

ent periods were included. The pictures shown are part of a much larger collection of slides made by Dr. Weeks.

History is not a static thing. Valuable studies in the field of Red River Valley history have already been written and published, but it was made abundantly clear by Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts for the Minnesota Historical Society, in an informing paper entitled "New Light on Red River Valley History," that many important manuscript sources for this subject are in existence which have not yet been used by historians. They will doubtless make possible further important contributions to that history, which will throw a flood of "new light" upon it. Dr. Nute's paper is printed in the present number of the BULLETIN.

Two papers on the program related to the teaching of state history in the schools of Minnesota. "The Significance of the Local Approach in Education" was discussed by Mr. Ray B. MacLean, president of the State Teachers College at Moorhead. The local approach, he said, is (1) interesting, (2) practical, and (3) typical of the world in which men live. It is interesting because it is "immediate, concrete, and personal" and possesses elements which "appeal to the thought and imagination." It is practical because it involves an appreciation of the neighborhood life — a vital thing; and it is typical of the world because "the history of the local community is a cross section of the struggle which has gone on for ages in larger units." Mr. MacLean's address furnished a philosophical background for a paper by Mr. Arthur D. White of Frazee on "Minnesota History in the High School Curriculum," in which an earnest plea was made for the teaching of state history to Minnesota high school students. Mr. White's paper is printed in the last number of the BULLETIN (see *ante*, p. 477–484).

Much has been written about statesmen, soldiers, and missionaries in the history of Minnesota, but few have described the services of engineers to the state. A paper on

"A Minnesota Pioneer, William Crooks," told the story of a prominent engineer in the words of his daughter, Mrs. W. F. Just of Frazee. Crooks was a son of Ramsay Crooks, the famous American Fur Company official. He went to West Point in 1850 but did not complete his course. He resigned to accept a position as an assistant to John B. Jervis, a celebrated engineer of the New York Central Railway. After considerable experience he became, in 1857, assistant engineer for the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company; and from 1859 to 1862 he was chief engineer of that road. In 1861 he purchased in New Jersey the first railway locomotive to be used in Minnesota, the "William Crooks." From 1862 to 1865 he served as colonel of the Sixth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. He resumed his railroad work when he came out of the army. Mrs. Just sketched his later career and stated that he was chief engineer of the St. Paul and Pacific from 1865 to 1869, that he engaged in railway contract work from 1869 to 1890, and that he was president and chief engineer of the Wadena and Park Rapids Railway from 1890 to 1892 and chief engineer of the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railway from 1892 to 1897. From then until his death in 1907 he lived in Oregon. Among the roads the building of which he supervised, according to Mrs. Just, were the Great Northern branches to Breckenridge and St. Cloud, the line to Crookston, — the city was named in his honor, — and lines to Wadena and Grand Rapids. Colonel Crooks was more than an engineer and a soldier; he found time to serve in many official capacities, for example, as state senator and representative, and on numerous important public commissions. Mrs. Just described the career and character of an efficient engineer of the Northwest, who occupies an important place in the history of Minnesota transportation.[4]

Dr. John D. Hicks, professor of American history in the University of Nebraska, read his illuminating paper on "The

[4] Mrs. Just's paper is published in the *Detroit Record* for July 4, 1924.

People's Party in Minnesota" at the Friday evening session, held in the Detroit Lake Pavilion. No evening session was scheduled by the League of Minnesota Municipalities and consequently there was a large attendance of league delegates at this meeting. Much interest was shown in Dr. Hicks's skillful analysis of the Populist movement. His paper is published in the present number of the BULLETIN. "The True Story of the Strange Career of 'Lord Gordon-Gordon' in the Northwest" is the title of a paper by Dr. William W. Folwell, president emeritus of the University of Minnesota and president of the Minnesota Historical Society, which was read by Dr. Solon J. Buck at the same session. The story, which relates to a master swindler who posed as "Lord Gordon-Gordon" and excited Minnesota in the early seventies, was written by Dr. Folwell as an incidental study in connection with the preparation of volume 3 of his *History of Minnesota*.[5]

The main outlines of the "Lord Gordon-Gordon" adventure, as related by Dr. Folwell, are as follows: In 1871 a titled Englishman appeared in Minnesota and announced his intention of buying Minnesota lands for settlement by his poor Scotch tenants. He was taken on an elaborate tour by the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to the region about Detroit and Fergus Falls, where he bargained for a large tract. In December he went to New York where he represented himself as a stockholder controlling a large part of the stock of the Erie Railroad Company. He managed to swindle Jay Gould out of more than two hundred thousand dollars in cash and a large quantity of stocks. Gould recovered the cash and some of the stocks and sued Gordon for the rest, but the latter "jumped bail" and fled to Canada. In the

[5] Illustrated feature stories based upon Dr. Folwell's paper are printed in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 31, 1924, and in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 10. It is expected that the paper will be published in full in the appendix of volume 3 of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*.

spring of 1871 his bondsman located him near Winnipeg and persuaded the mayor of Minneapolis, George W. Brackett, to come to his assistance. Brackett sent Michael Hoy, his chief of police, and a man named Owen Keegan to Winnipeg where, with the help of Loren Fletcher, they succeeded in kidnaping Gordon. Just before they reached the border they were arrested by provincial authorities and were escorted back to Winnipeg. After two and a half months in jail, the kidnapers were tried, pleaded guilty, and were given light sentences. When they finally came home they were greeted as returning heroes. "Lord Gordon-Gordon" was a bogus noble whose estate in Scotland was a fiction. In 1874 he was arrested again, this time on a Toronto warrant, and rather than stand trial, he committed suicide.

On Friday at 12:30 P.M. at the Detroit Lake Pavilion a joint luncheon of the society and the League of Minnesota Municipalities was served by the ladies' aid societies of the Protestant Episcopal, the First Baptist, the Detroit Lutheran, and the First Congregational churches. Following this luncheon Dr. Solon J. Buck spoke on "Community Memory," and Professor John M. Gaus of the University of Minnesota on "Community Planning."

The correlation of the two ideas was strikingly brought out in the two speeches. Professor Gaus presented the main general features of scientific city planning as it is conceived today. Dr. Buck pointed out that history serves the community in the same way as memory does the individual, that the characteristics of the community are determined wholly by its past, and that only through a knowledge of that past is it possible to understand the present and plan wisely for the future. He called attention also to the added richness of life which comes to the individual from a knowledge of the history of his environment and the added charm of the community which is interested in its past and preserves the records and other survivals of that past. It was pointed out, more-

over, that attention to local history has a very real and direct commercial value, in attracting tourists for example, and that this value is successfully capitalized in Europe and in the East. In the West, however, there has been comparatively little interest in local history until very recently; few works of a scholarly sort have been written in the field, and the subject has not been taught in the schools. What is needed is a sustained and concentrated effort to preserve the records of the past — local archives, records of organizations and of industrial establishments, personal papers, files of newspapers, and museum objects. Historic sites should be marked, local history should be introduced in the schools, and in general the idea should be cultivated that the history of a community is a vital matter which merits the concern of all its citizens. The best way to accomplish these things, the speaker said, is through the organization of local historical societies made up not primarily of antiquarians and old settlers but rather of vigorous and active men and women who appreciate the civic, cultural, and practical values of the cultivation of community memory.

Dr. Buck's address struck the keynote for the local history conference which was held on the following day. The discussion at this conference was opened by Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, who called attention to the fact that the various Minnesota communities, although similar in many ways, have individualities of their own — personalities, as it were. It is important, he said, for citizens to know about the background which explains these original, as well as the ordinary, features of the community life. To get as much as possible out of the common heritage it is necessary to organize. Fortunately, in Minnesota and the Middle West generally, the lesson of local history organization is being learned. Encouraging signs of the new interest in local history are the recent organization of three county historical societies in Minnesota, the well-directed activity of the St. Louis County Historical Society,

and the passage by the state legislature of a law authorizing the commissioners of one Minnesota county to make an appropriation for a county historical society. The speaker suggested the possibility of an amendment to this law which would authorize counties generally to support organized local history activity. Attention was then called to the proposed constitution for a county historical society published not long ago in the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN and to the definition of aims embodied in its first clause (see *ante*, 4:252–256). Three questions were then raised: What has the Becker County Historical Society accomplished? What are the prospects for further local history organization in western Minnesota? What is the situation in North Dakota?

Mr. John K. West spoke briefly of the work being done by the Becker County Historical Society, commenting especially upon the value of energetic and enthusiastic leadership for the successful carrying on of such an enterprise. Dr. L. C. Weeks, who is the president of the Becker County society, gave numerous illustrations of the collecting activity of the organization. More than eight hundred pictures and relics had been collected for the window exhibits, he said. The local society has a valuable collection of Becker County newspapers, most of which are bound and carefully preserved. He gave several illustrations of the historical value of these local files. The materials assembled by the society, he said, are placed in a basement room of the Detroit Public Library, but there is a possibility that a room may be secured eventually in the county courthouse.

It is evident that there is effective organization of activity along local history lines in Becker County and that the movement is gathering momentum. The situation in Clay County is none too good, according to Mrs. Julia B. Friday of Hawley, who spoke next. She indicated that there are not a few places of historic interest in the county and that the essential thing is to interest people in the history of the region.

Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, called special attention to the window displays on the Detroit main street and said that they would form an excellent nucleus for a county museum. Such collections of material could and should be made in every county. The educational value of such exhibits for the public school children was suggested as one argument for the establishment of a museum.

Mr. Dana C. Wright of Jamestown, North Dakota, said that two or three counties in that state have organized their local history work. In Jamestown, for example, he said, there is a local society which is active and has a room in which its materials are on display. The historical objects gathered by this society are advertised by placing a few of them in store windows. Dr. Libby indicated that there is a growing interest in North Dakota in the marking of historic sites. An attempt has been made to organize county war history commissions in every county of the state, he said, and in some cases these organizations have assembled World War objects which are displayed in special war history rooms. North Dakota is still in the pioneering stage and this means that historical workers have the advantage of being near the source. The speaker gave an instance of the destruction through ignorance of a valuable file of county newspapers. A certain amount of such destruction seems to be inevitable, — in the older as well as in the younger states, — but a powerful aid in the preservation of records will be the organization of active and well-directed county historical societies.

The convention was so crowded with sessions that little time was left for social affairs. The amenities of life were not forgotten, however. On Friday afternoon at 4:30 P.M., through the courtesy of the people of Detroit, an informal automobile trip was made around some of the lakes in the vicinity of the city. At 6:30 P.M., on the same day, an informal joint dinner with the League of Minnesota Munici-

palities was served at the lake pavilion by the Ladies' Aid Society of the Holy Rosary Church. A trip to the White Earth Indian Reservation, scheduled for Saturday afternoon, was unavoidably canceled. After the convention some of the visitors returned to the Twin Cities by way of Itasca State Park and others took advantage of the opportunities for trips to other parts of western Minnesota.

The following resolution, which was proposed by a committee consisting of Mrs. Elizabeth H. Buck, chairman, Dr. John D. Hicks, and Dr. William E. Leonard, was unanimously adopted by the convention at its last session, on Saturday morning, June 21:

RESOLVED, That we, the members and friends of the Minnesota Historical Society assembled at its third annual convention in Detroit, Minnesota, do hereby express our thanks and appreciation to the following persons:

To the committee on general arrangements of the historical society who brought us to this delightful city and arranged an interesting and stimulating program for our entertainment,

To the officers of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, who have coöperated with our society in joint sessions,

To the persons who have prepared and read the papers and speeches to which we have been privileged to listen,

To the committee on local arrangements and especially to Dr. L. C. Weeks, who have extended to us the hospitality of the city of Detroit and have made arrangements for our lodging in the face of the crowded conditions caused by the presence of another convention in the city at this time,

To the members of the First Congregational Church for their courtesy in permitting our convention to hold so many of its sessions in the church,

To the ladies' aid societies of the Protestant Episcopal, the First Baptist, the Detroit Lutheran, the First Congregational, and the Holy Rosary churches who served the joint luncheon and dinner on the first day of the convention, and

To the merchants and citizens of Detroit, who have coöperated in assembling for our entertainment the notable window displays of historic objects and who have extended to us many other courtesies during our visit in their city.

The valley of the Red River of the North — the Nile of the Northwest — has an important and fascinating history and the people of western Minnesota are beginning to show their interest in that history by conserving its records in organized fashion. Interest in state history generally is waxing in Minnesota. Those who attended the Detroit convention came away with the impression that there is something vital in historical work in the state today. Carefully prepared papers on subjects of enduring importance, earnest discussions, intelligent interest — all indicate that the new conception of history is gaining ground. Here was no fruitless antiquarianism; here, rather, was a serious attempt to arrive at an understanding of some of the forces which lie back of and explain present conditions — here was history definitely tied to present-day life.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Constitutions of the Northwest States (University of Nebraska, *University Studies,* vol. 23, nos. 1–2). By JOHN D. HICKS. (Lincoln, 1923. 162 p.)

The process of creating new states out of the national domain in the West and the South began with the admission of Kentucky in 1792 and ended in 1912 with the elevation to statehood of New Mexico and Arizona. All told, thirty-two states, or two-thirds of the entire number, were created from the national territories. The other sixteen states include the original thirteen plus Vermont, Maine, and West Virginia.

If a motion picture could be taken of the map of the United States showing the rise of new states year by year from the beginning there would be noticeable a distinct unevenness in the movement. At one time ten to fifteen years would pass by without the admission of a single state. At another time a whole group of states would come trooping in almost simultaneously. The most striking example of wholesale admissions that we have is that of the six states discussed in the monograph under review. North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, and Wyoming, occupying the northwestern section of the United States, all became states in a period of less than ten months in 1889 and 1890.

The monograph opens with a chapter on the movement for statehood in the several territories considered and closes with a short account of the admission of the six states to the Union. The elements in the statehood movement were fundamentally the same in all — the building of railroads, the influx of population, the desire of the people to govern themselves and to have access to the school lands for school support, the desire of the politicians to be elected to state office and to Congress, the difficult problems of boundaries and of taxation, and the indifference of Congress to territorial demands arising in part from the hesitancy of Republican members to admit Democratic states and the reluctance of Democratic members to admit Republican

states. The record is not complete, however, without the facts which reveal important local variations, and while it was clearly not the main purpose of the author to treat exhaustively the entire background and course of the statehood movement in each territory, he has given us many details which throw light upon subsequent events.

The body of the work consists of an analysis of the debates of the several constitutional conventions and of the constitutions which they framed. The proceedings had to be reconstructed in part from the reports given in newspapers, since the conventions in Washington and Wyoming failed to publish the records of their deliberations. In spite of this added difficulty Dr. Hicks has given us a full and readable account of the more interesting and important debates and decisions of all six conventions. By using a topical method of treatment following the main headings in an ordinary state constitution, he presents the discussions to us in a way which makes it easy to get a vision of the problems and the ideas of these constitution framers of the Northwest.

Bold to discuss but cautious to act, the conventions considered at length some highly important changes in the structure and procedure of state government but adopted very few of them. There were proposals to introduce the referendum on an extensive scale, to create a single-chambered legislature, to ensure minority representation, to establish the merit system of appointment to office, to extend the suffrage to women, and to introduce a tax system which would discourage land speculators. Practically none of these proposals succeeded. The fundamental conservatism of the pioneer was clearly shown in the unanimous refusal of these six states to make any significant departures from the standard pattern in the construction of their governments.

But if they were unwilling to alter the fundamentals, they were nevertheless influenced by the social viewpoint of the times. No one could possibly confuse the constitutions which they drafted with those of a hundred or even fifty years before. Not content to write down the bare framework of a government, they attempted to solve some of the problems of their day and even to anticipate some of the future. They were not afraid of what has been called "legislation in the constitution." They

made careful provision for the protection of the school funds and the promotion of education. They endeavored to control corporations and to prevent the development of trusts and monopolies by lengthy constitutional provisions. To prevent extravagance in local government they put restrictions upon local taxing and borrowing powers. They even looked forward to the necessity of guarding the welfare of labor and of protecting women and children in industry. In fine they attempted to write into the several constitutions some of the advanced views of the farmer and labor movements of the time.

This little summary of Dr. Hicks's excellent monograph will at least suggest its principal contents. With a style both simple and easy, the author has made an interesting volume out of hundreds of pages of dreary constitutional debates. That the work will be useful to students of American institutions cannot be doubted. An index would unquestionably have enhanced the value of the publication, but this deficiency is partly supplied by a detailed table of contents. All things considered the volume represents a commendable effort to fill a gap in the constitutional history of some of our younger states.

WILLIAM ANDERSON

Wisconsin Domesday Book, Town Studies. Volume 1. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1924. 168 p. Maps, plates.)

Dr. Joseph Schafer, the superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, has written what amounts to a review of the present volume before its appearance in the form of a paper read before the Minnesota Historical Society and published in the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN for February-May, 1921. This paper, according to the introduction to the volume before the reviewer, sets forth the theoretical background of the work and affords "a means to measure the success attained in giving concrete form to the original project."

The unit in the *Domesday Book* work, we are told, is the map of the township, which usually occupies the area of the surveyor's township. A transcript of the surveyor's original plat having been prepared, upon it are inscribed the names of all farm

landowners of the year 1860. With the aid of the tract books preserved in the United States land offices, the records of all sales of land to private individuals in the state land office, the town tax rolls in the county courthouses, the indexes of land titles and dates of purchase, and the schedules of the United States census for the years 1850, 1860, and 1870, the plat is designed to reveal in outline the pioneer history of a particular township from its beginnings to the year 1870, so far as the creation of farms and their improvement are concerned. The plat, however, is but the beginning of an inquiry "which will cover a wide range of social, economic, religious, educational, and political facts relating to the area thus defined and mapped."

Mr. Schafer justifies this plan from three points of view. First, it will arouse the interest of large masses of people; second, it will enlist the coöperation in historical work of the largest practical fraction of the people; and third, it will establish the basis for an intensive study of history by localities as a method of arriving at an interpretation of the general history of America.

The illuminating and scholarly articles from the pen of Mr. Schafer which have appeared in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* have furnished abundant proof of the value of the "Domesday" survey. History students will await with keen anticipation the appearance of other studies which may be prompted by it. Whether or not the present volume measures up to the ambitious claims of the author and editor is another matter.

The introduction (p. 9–20) is a general treatise, or a broad generalization, based upon the data in the twenty-three town plats and accompanying texts. Roughly, these generalizations but confirm facts and conclusions drawn from other or similar material. We are just as certain as heretofore, but no more, that the Yankees tended to take open land, while poorer Americans and poor immigrants from abroad were unable to settle on the prairies. We read what was already known about the influence of the speculative holding of agricultural lands. Among the reasons given for the failure of foreigners to choose lands wisely, one was not revealed by the survey: The ease with which imposters could deceive men ignorant of the language and conditions

of the country. The changing standards revealed by the state census of 1905 and the United States census of 1920 are discussed for the towns collectively and by groups.

In dealing with the individual town, one page is given to the plat and survey notes and an average of about four pages to a discussion of the location, surface and drainage, types of soil, timber, beginnings of settlement, classification of farms according to area, general production, manufactures, villages, post offices, schools and churches, population changes, progress of farm-making, conditions affecting the purchase of lands, population statistics, and frequently a sketch of social conditions or a personal narrative written by some one intimately acquainted with the town. The appendix contains seven tables of agricultural statistics.

An expression of opinion as to the value of the vast project of the Wisconsin society based on the examination of the first volume of the *Town Studies* would be premature. But confining ourselves to the single volume, it must be said reluctantly that it is rather disappointing — not in workmanship, research, nor in details. Take, for example, the town of New Glarus. After studying the plat, the topographic map, and the soil map, and reading the accompanying text, doubt arises whether the interest of a considerable portion of people will be aroused. The skeptic will also ask if the time, effort, and money expended in the production of the volume could not have been turned to better purposes for the historian and the "historically-minded" people of Wisconsin. In other words, will this data assist in any large degree in arriving at an interpretation of the general history of America? On the other hand, when one visions the library space consumed by the publications of historical societies composed of eulogies, doubtful "reminiscences," and rag tag, another feeling crowds in.

At any rate, the professional historian, and let us hope the state legislature, will suspend judgment pending the completion of the ambitious undertaking. Mr. Schafer and his co-laborers will not be disturbed by the skepticism of professional historians — providing they have no influence with the legislature. Theirs is a bold, original, well-conceived experiment.

George M. Stephenson

A History of Minnesota. By WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL, President of the Minnesota Historical Society and president emeritus of the University of Minnesota. Volume 2. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1924. xviii, 477 p. Illustrations, maps.)[1]

The second volume of Dr. Folwell's comprehensive history of Minnesota, a volume long awaited by those who read the first, justifies the expectation that the standard of reliability and of interest set by the earlier volume would be maintained. The period covered by this new volume starts with the election of 1857 and closes with the end of the Civil War. It is, then, a book in which wars and rumors of wars predominate and dominate everything else. Minnesota, new as the state was when the struggle between the sections started, was called upon and responded to the call for her share of troops; but, withal, Minnesota had her own difficulties with the Indians during at least three of the years of the greater contest. Of the twelve goodly chapters contained in this volume all but four deal with the Indian or the Civil War.

Volume 1 of Dr. Folwell's history closed with the story of the formation of the state constitution. Volume 2 opens with the story of how Minnesota immediately proceeded to elect state officials and representatives to Congress, and, as soon as the first state legislature convened, two United States senators, despite the fact that the admission of the state to the Union had not yet occurred. This small matter, however, did not ruffle the tempers of those involved, and the whole affair was made regular by the formal act of admission. One chapter, the second, deals with Minnesota's star performance in wildcat finance, the five million loan. The third chapter has to do with the general situation, mostly political, in Minnesota just before the outbreak of the Civil War. The last chapter in the book, entitled "Gleanings," picks up the threads of the domestic narrative which were not directly connected with either of the military struggles going on during the period.

Of the eight chapters devoted to wars of one sort or another two, the fourth and the eleventh, deal respectively with "Two

[1] This review appeared in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for July 24, 1924.

Years of the Civil War" and "Minnesota Troops in the Civil War." There is no attempt to follow the general course of the national struggle; as the chapter headings indicate, the subject matter is properly the specific part which Minnesota played, together with something of the results of the war for the state itself. As painstaking efforts to depict concisely yet vividly just what part Minnesota troops took in the war these two chapters are admirable. Such a treatment does not involve a consideration of the things which lay back of the sectional strife. One may imagine, however, that the author has strong feelings on the subject and that probably few people south of Mason and Dixon's line would be able to view the whole matter eye to eye with him, and that perhaps some north of that line would be unable to agree with him.

Probably most Minnesotans will find their greatest interest in these volumes in the six chapters beginning with "The Sioux Outbreak, 1862," and ending with the "Indian Wars of 1863–65." The story is vividly told. With no attempt to glorify individuals or to overpaint the picture there is a straightforward narrative built out of minute study of voluminous and frequently conflicting accounts. The trials of the settlers and the tribulations of the Indians are all set forth. Dr. Folwell writes with no illusions about the "noble Red Man." On the other hand there comes out plainly enough the sad story of that blundering cupidity which characterized so much of the white man's dealing with the aborigines. For most persons familiar with the field there are few pages of American history which could be spared with more relief than those which tell the tale of the treatment of the Indians. The people of Minnesota and the government officials sent to deal with the Indians were neither better nor worse than those in other states or at other times; indeed, the Minnesota story, in its general outlines, is typical of what had been going on almost from the time white men landed on the Atlantic coast. The understandable but unreasoning resistance of the Indians to encroachment of those capable of using the natural resources more fully; the overreaching and debauching of the Indian by the white man; the exasperation of the settler to whom it was all an *argumentum ad hominem,* and who rarely could view the native as anything but a cumberer of the earth

to be shoved along out of the way as fast as possible; treaties secured by fraud and then callously violated — all these features, which could be found at any time from colonial days on, were reproduced in Minnesota, with, perhaps, some accentuation in certain respects.

While the general narrative of the Indian wars is contained in the six chapters of the text Dr. Folwell has incorporated in an appendix of nearly a hundred pages some of the esoteric lore he has accumulated. Indeed, some of the most readable and fascinating pages of the whole book are in this same appendix. No one who reads the account of the battle of Birch Coulee would think of missing the "Birch Coulee Monument Controversy" (Appendix 7); and after the plain narrative of the defense of New Ulm comes naturally the "First Battle of New Ulm" (Appendix 3), where the author lets all those who witnessed and left an account of the struggle tell their stories. Wisely, perhaps, he does not attempt to settle all the controversial issues which were raised: "Here are the stories they told; take your choice," is what one reads between the lines. The "Sisseton and Wahpeton Claims" (Appendix 12), told barely, with little comment, drives home the conviction received from reading the text that there is little to say when the charge is made that the whole treatment of the Indians is a chapter of shame in American history.

Just as the first volume of this history gave a close-up of what was going on all along the frontier in the days of the pioneer, so the second volume depicts the next stage of development which, with local variations, could be found in any of the states. After one has a general idea of how the story of national development runs, nothing can make it more vivid than to read an account of some portions of it in detail, and Dr. Folwell's volume supplies such detail. One sometimes regrets that the author had not the time or the space or the inclination to include in his story something more of what, for want of a better expression, may be called the general social development. In the half decade of the Civil War Minnesota was daily receiving increments of population from other parts of the United States and from Europe. Before a complete picture can be formed of the development of any portion of the Union there must be

studies which show the details of settlement, the changing economy of the frontier, the shifts in agriculture, in all phases of industry. A few of these studies have been made, others are being made, and sometime there will come the synthesis of these studies. After all, politics and war do not and did not occupy all the attention of people, and the real history of any group has to tell of humdrum affairs as well.

The people of Minnesota owe to Dr. Folwell and to the Minnesota Historical Society and its officers who have made possible the publication of the book a deep debt for these two volumes of one of the few real state histories so far produced.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

The Constitution of Minnesota Annotated (Bureau for research in government of the University of Minnesota, *Publications,* no. 3). By HAROLD F. KUMM, M.A., LL.B., Formerly instructor in political science, University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1924. [vii], 311 p.)

Mr. Kumm explains that "Neither in extent, nor in purpose, nor in method is the following work to be compared to a general treatise on constitutional law. . . . Decisions cannot be turned out to order for the purpose of making a clear and complete annotation." Nevertheless in this careful analysis of the decisions on constitutional questions already made by the state supreme court the author goes as far toward clarifying the meaning of the Minnesota constitution as anyone could go authoritatively at the present time. Indeed, such a compilation is probably of greater value than a "well-balanced" textbook, for it sticks closely to what the courts have actually done, it places the emphasis where they have placed it, and it avoids all idle speculation as to what they might do in certain contingencies.

In order to produce this book it was necessary among other things for the author to read and digest the cases set forth in some hundred and fifty volumes of supreme court reports. His laborious undertaking puts at the disposal of the intelligent citizen such information as ordinarily could be obtained only by consultation of a lawyer. It will be of especial value to teachers and students of government, to whom many problems here stated

have hitherto remained unknown or unsolvable. For those whose chief interest is history, however, it is far less important than Mr. Anderson's *History of the Constitution of Minnesota,* to which in a sense the present work is but an extensive supplement.

The neatness, orderliness, and general correctness of this volume reflect much credit upon the author and even more upon those in charge of the bureau for research in government of the University of Minnesota. This is the more noteworthy because of the messiness which so often characterizes the publications put out by our American universities.

John D. Hicks

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

In September the nature of the work of the society was called to the attention of thousands of Minnesota people who thronged the State Exhibits Building at the state fair and looked at the display in the society's booth. The steering wheel of the United States frigate, "Minnesota," which served as the central exhibit, called up memories not only of the Civil War but also of an interesting phase of American maritime history. The chief object of the society's state fair exhibit, however, was to present a view of its activities, through charts, publications, pictures, and library, museum, and manuscript exhibits. In the same booth was an effective exhibit of the Minnesota War Records Commission.

After writing about the state historical convention at Detroit, the editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* in the September number of that magazine, delivers himself of the following sententious comment: "It was in a Minnesota village that Sinclair Lewis laid the scene of his erstwhile best seller, *Main Street.* It would be difficult to conceive of any measure better calculated to remove the curse of midwestern village life as therein depicted than the activities of this character fostered by the Minnesota Historical Society."

The August-November, 1922, number of the BULLETIN, — number 7–8 of volume 4, — which came from the press in October, is a bulky number containing 170 pages. Its leading article is entitled "When Minnesota Was a Pawn of International Politics," by Clarence W. Alvord. Much of the number is devoted to the historically and humanly interesting diary of Martin McLeod, edited by Dr. Grace Lee Nute; and the number also contains a report on the state historical convention at Duluth, held in 1922. Copies of this number of the BULLETIN have been sent to all members who joined the society before November, 1922, and copies will be sent upon request to other members of the society.

The additions to the active membership during the quarter ending September 30, 1924, numbered 85, which bring the total to 1,340. A list of the names of the new members, grouped by counties, follows:

BECKER: Mrs. E. G. Holmes of Detroit.

BLUE EARTH: David Richards, Dr. John F. Russ, Isaac N. Tompkins, and Charles E. Wise of Mankato.

BROWN: H. L. Beecher, George Gieseke, Paul Lehman, Philip Liesch, Carl Manderfield, and A. O. Olson of New Ulm; and Robert C. Dahlberg and Alexander Seifert of Springfield.

CHIPPEWA: Ludwig I. Roe and Dr. Leon A. Smith of Montevideo.

CLAY: Solomon G. Comstock of Moorhead.

DAKOTA: George R. Day of Farmington.

HENNEPIN: Hazel Burton of Excelsior; and Howard S. Abbott, Arthur C. Andrews, Frederick G. Atkinson, George M. Bleecker, William H. Bremner, Charles H. Briggs, Rodney W. Chadbourne, Mrs. George C. Christian, John Crosby, G. Nelson Dayton, Elizabeth H. Foss, Charles Gluek, Frank L. Gowen, Christian P. Grimsrud, Dr. Arthur S. Hamilton, Dr. Earle R. Hare, George Harrison, Horace M. Hill, Dr. William A. Jones, Frederick E. Kenaston, Morris B. Lambie, Dr. Rae T. La Vake, William C. Leary, Dr. Matthew J. Lynch, Mrs. Nathaniel McCarthy, John H. MacMillan, Putnam D. McMillan, Mrs. Charles J. Martin, Carroll K. Michener, William B. Morris, Guy H. Nelson, Dr. Olof A. Olson, Harry L. Robinson, Charles G. Roosen, Benjamin B. Sheffield, Dr. Norman M. Smith, Fred B. Snyder, Mrs. Hiram C. Truesdale, Leon C. Warner, Robert W. Webb, and Dr. Charles Weithoff of Minneapolis.

ISANTI: Oscar A. Olson of Braham.

LAC QUI PARLE: Dr. Herman M. Johnson of Dawson.

MCLEOD: Dr. Prosper E. Sheppard of Hutchinson.

MARTIN: Albert R. Allen of Fairmont.

MOWER: Samuel D. Catherwood of Austin.

OLMSTED: Reverend J. C. K. Preus of Byron; and Dr. David Beekman, Dr. Melvin S. Henderson, and Edward C. Kendall of Rochester.

PINE: L. C. Pederson of Askov.

RAMSEY: Dawes How, Roger Mackintosh, and Frederick C. Miller of St. Paul.

RICE: Louis Peavey of Faribault.

SCOTT: Jane Flaherty of Shakopee.

STEVENS: James B. Ormond of Morris.

TODD: Elisha B. Wood of Long Prairie.

WASHINGTON: Dr. Gustavus A. Newman of Stillwater.

WINONA: J. Russell Smith and H. L. Whitman of Winona.

NONRESIDENT: Edmund Longyear of Altadena, California; Jessie M. Watson of Washington, D. C.; Henry H. S. Rowell of Lewiston, Idaho; Bryan Gilkinson of Lawrence, Kansas; Mrs. Amelia Mohlman of New York City; Edwin E. White of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The society lost four active members by death during the last quarter: Mrs. Charles M. Loring of Minneapolis, July 29; John B. Gilfillan of Minneapolis, August 19; George J. Grant of St. Paul, September 17; and Luke A. Marvin of Duluth, September 17. The deaths of Edward M. Van Cleve of Minneapolis, an active member, on April 19, and of the Honorable Amédée E. Forget of Banff, Alberta, a corresponding member, on June 8, have not previously been reported in the BULLETIN.

The number of subscriptions to the society's publications from schools and public libraries is 144, the public library at International Falls and the library of the West Central School and Station of the University of Minnesota at Morris having been added during the quarter ending September 30.

The publication of Mr. Arthur D. White's article in the August BULLETIN on "Minnesota History in the High School Curriculum" has elicited considerable favorable comment. An editorial in the *St. Paul Dispatch* discusses the problem of state history in the schools and concludes that "Mr. White's question deserves the serious consideration of the educators of the state." The subject was brought to the attention of University of Minnesota students through the reprinting of the BULLETIN article in the *Minnesota Daily* for September 30 and October 1 and 2. In connection with the society's efforts to promote the teaching of Minnesota history in the schools, several hundred complimentary

copies of the BULLETIN containing Mr. White's paper were mailed to superintendents of schools together with a letter calling attention to it and to the opportunity open to schools to secure the society's publications on a subscription basis. The curriculum for elementary schools, as planned by the state department of education, calls for the teaching of Minnesota history in the fourth grade, and many teachers in consequence have written for advice as to materials. The newly published outline of American history for high school use, issued by the state department of education, advises the introduction of state and local history into this general course, and thus gives a new impulse toward the study of Minnesota history in the schools.

The society has been cleaning house during the summer. A thorough cleaning was given the entire library of books and newspapers; and the walls and ceilings in the museum rooms and the main reading rooms were cleaned and redecorated by the department of public property.

During the months of July, August, and September, 9,214 books were served to 1,527 readers in the main library — an increase of more than two hundred persons and nearly two thousand books over the service for the corresponding period in 1923. An interesting feature of the service is the extent to which the library is used by visitors from other states. Representatives from Kentucky, New York, Nebraska, Illinois, Missouri, Montana, and Wisconsin worked in the library in the single month of July, and many of them were engaged in serious investigations.

Perhaps the most striking recent increase in the use of the society's materials is that in the manuscript division. Here the number of workers from April 1 to October 1, was 258, or more than twice as many as in the corresponding period of any previous year. Among them were candidates for advanced degrees in the University of Wisconsin, Columbia University, and the University of Paris, besides, of course, the University of Minnesota. One investigator was an agent of the attorney-general of Wisconsin who found important evidence bearing on the disputed boundary between Wisconsin and Michigan;

another was a representative of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., desirous of locating material on the late Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island.

The purchase of four new walnut cases and of ten glass covered wing screens and the remodeling of four old cases have made material additions to the available space in the museum. The Victorian room has been expanded into two rooms, a living room and a bedroom, and plans for the installation of a replica of a pioneer log cabin are approaching fruition. It is expected that the work connected with the latter project will be done sometime during the winter.

"Lumber Industry Records Wanted" is the title of an item in the *Minnesota Historical News,* released to the press in October. The people of the state are asked to coöperate with the society in preserving old account books, letters, diaries, and other papers which throw light on the history of the lumber industry in Minnesota.

Dr. Wayne E. Stevens of Dartmouth College visited Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa for the society during the summer to resume his search in the historical depositories of those cities for manuscript and other materials of interest for Minnesota history (see *ante,* p. 305–307). As a result of his work the society has obtained photostats and calendar cards for a considerable number of sources on the British period of the history of Minnesota.

The article on "The Boundaries of Brown County" which appeared in the August BULLETIN is reprinted by the *Brown County Journal* of New Ulm in its issue for September 26.

The Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution at its annual meeting recently voted to furnish the library regularly with the lineage books published by the national society, of which several volumes are issued each year, and to pay the cost of binding them. This sort of coöperation is very much appreciated.

The superintendent gave a talk on Minnesota history and the work of the society before the Junior Pioneer Association in St. Paul on July 9; and the curator of the museum on July 12

spoke on the history of Fort Snelling to a group of University of Minnesota summer school students whom he conducted on a trip to Fort Snelling and the Sibley House at Mendota.

The radio talks given at the Twin City station WLAG by representatives of the society were temporarily discontinued after the July talk. The fifteenth in the series, was given on July 22 by Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., curator of the museum, who took as his subject "The Story of Fort Snelling." A new series of monthly radio talks on Minnesota history subjects will be given by members of the society's staff, beginning on the third Monday in October, from the WCCO station.

The radio address on "The Red River Valley in Minnesota History," given by the assistant superintendent on June 16, is published in the *Western Magazine* for September. A picture of Major Stephen H. Long and two views of Red River cart trains accompany the article.

Accessions

Some interesting documents relating to Ramsay Crooks, the president of the American Fur Company, including his certificate of naturalization, issued in 1830, have been presented to the society by Mrs. Marie Crooks Just of Frazee, his granddaughter.

Several letters written in the period from 1834 to 1848 by Gideon Pond, the missionary, have been added to the society's collection of Pond Papers as a gift from Mr. Gideon H. Pond of Minneapolis (see *ante,* 3:82–86). Perhaps the most interesting letter of the group is one written on May 19, 1834, about two weeks after Pond's arrival at Fort Snelling. It describes the region, the garrison, and the natives with all the detail one might expect from a Connecticut Yankee venturing into the Indian country for the first time.

The papers of Henry Hastings Sibley constitute one of the most valuable collections of manuscripts in the possession of the society, and for some time efforts have been made to add to this collection any Sibley papers of which trace could be found. It is gratifying, therefore, to be able to announce that the diary kept by General Sibley during the stirring days from

June 10 to September 13, 1863, when he was leading his troops on the plains in search of hostile Sioux bands, and a section of an autobiographical sketch which he began in 1884 have been deposited with the society by his daughter, Mrs. Elbert A. Young of St. Paul. Unfortunately General Sibley did not finish the autobiography, but the part which he wrote is a charming and historically important description of his early experiences on the Great Lakes and in Minnesota. Mrs. Young has also permitted the society to make photostatic copies of a number of interesting letters to Sibley in her possession.

In Miss Nute's article, published in this number of the BULLETIN, attention is directed to the value of the Red River settlement census records. Schedules giving many details — such as birthplace, age, religious affiliation, and possessions — concerning the settlers along the lower Red River in 1838, 1840, 1843, and 1846–47, have recently been copied by photostat for the society from the original documents in the Provincial Library of Manitoba at Winnipeg.

In 1855 the officers of the Tenth United States Infantry, upon reaching Fort Snelling, where they were stationed, wrote and signed a letter of thanks to Captain Harris of the "War Eagle," the steamboat which had brought them up the river. This testimonial, with its autographs of Fort Snelling officers and its flavor of the hospitality of the palmy days of steamboating on the upper Mississippi, has been presented to the society by Mrs. Medora Morrill of Chatfield.

Some material on the attitude of the Minnesota Democrats in the election of 1860 and a number of interesting letterheads are included in a group of fifteen manuscripts presented to the society by Mrs. Minnie Hosier of Chatfield. In a letter from J. W. Bishop, owner of the *Chatfield Democrat,* to William B. Gere, the former makes it clear that he bought his newspaper for political purposes, not as a speculation. "*Pay or no pay,*" he writes, "I am going through *1860* with it." An interesting study, which would not be without historical value, might be made of early letterheads. In this collection of papers, for example, is one showing "A View of St. Peter, Minnesota, on the Minnesota River" in 1860.

An informing paper on logging methods, lumberjacks, and the lumber industry of northern Minnesota generally, has been presented to the society by Mr. Wright T. Orcutt of Minneapolis. His reminiscences, which were presented to the society in manuscript form some months ago (see *ante,* p. 508), have now been published under the title "Interesting Account of Lumber Industry of Northern Minnesota Told by the Son of a St. Cloud Pioneer of '66," in the *Saint Cloud Daily Times* for July 14.

A correspondence file of the State Board of Corrections and Charities for the years 1895 to 1900, containing some two hundred letters, has been received from Dr. William W. Folwell, who once served as a member of the board.

A manuscript article on the history of White Earth, written by Mrs. Julia A. Spears of Detroit, a daughter of Lyman Warren, has been received from the author.

On August 5, 1924, six men of New Ulm, Messrs. J. Anton Ochs, H. H. Walter, E. A. Stoll, August Hummell, Richard Pfefferle, and Alex Seifert, set forth on a two-day journey of historical exploration by automobile through Granite Falls, Montevideo, and Brown's Valley, to Lake Traverse. Interesting historic sites were visited and a number of persons whose memories run back to the days of the Sioux Outbreak and of pioneer settlement were interviewed. At each interview careful stenographic notes of questions and answers were taken. A detailed report of the expedition was later drawn up and transmitted to the society. The value of these recorded conversations is considerable, not only for the historical information which they contain but also for the clues which they give about manuscripts and articles of historical value.

The society's collection of objects illustrating the history of domestic life is steadily increasing. Recent gifts include a pair of fire tongs, an old-fashioned iron frying pan, and a powder pouch, presented by Mr. Robert Schofield of Tacoma, Washington; a trundle bed, from Mr. and Mrs. Herbert C. Varney of St. Paul; a fine old cherry desk and a tin venison warmer of unusual design, from Dr. Brewer Mattocks of Rhinelander, Wisconsin; a woman's quilted hood, a fur cap, and a pair of fur

moccasins, from Miss Gyda Magelssen of Rushford; and a Wheeler and Wilson sewing machine of an early make, from Mrs. G. C. Lambert of Bethel.

Among several interesting objects illustrating military history which have recently been received are a uniform coat, a military sash, and two sabers used by the late Major Christopher B. Heffelfinger of Minneapolis during the Civil War, presented by his daughter, Miss Mary E. Heffelfinger; a Civil War musket found on one of the battlefields near Chattanooga, given by Mrs. John H. Nightingale of Minneapolis; and several photographs of the First Minnesota Field Artillery while on duty at the Mexican border in 1916 presented, together with a number of World War items, by Mr. Duffy Ethier of St. Paul.

To the picture collection have been added framed photographs of Dr. and Mrs. H. A. L. von Wedelstaedt, presented by their daughter, Mrs. G. C. Lambert of Bethel; and two photographs of Dr. George H. Keith, given by his son, Mr. Walter Keith of Minneapolis.

Mr. Henry B. Wenzell, reporter of the state supreme court, has presented a scrapbook which he compiled during his student days in Europe from 1876 to 1879. It contains a large number of interesting ephemeral pieces such as handbills, broadsides, advertising cards, menus, and customs documents.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The average local historical museum, with its collection of "relics" assembled in haphazard fashion, is nothing but a "pitiful display of confusion," according to an article entitled "Unhistorical Museums or Museums of History, — Which?" by Arthur C. Parker, in the July number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association. Mr. Parker states that the establishment of an intelligent policy by the museum curator is a first essential. By applying such a policy many items sent to a museum would have to be declined and the local museum would cease to be a "repository of rubbish." It would become "an institution where the material exhibits of community growth and development may be seen."

The new syllabus of American history for Minnesota high school teachers issued by the state department of education (1924. 62 p.) will be of interest to students of Minnesota history because it definitely recognizes the importance of correlating state and national history. It calls special attention to the syllabus of Minnesota history which has been issued in mimeographed form by the Minnesota Historical Society and it suggests that there are excellent possibilities for high school students in the writing of papers, or "original monographs," in the field of local history. The study of old houses, letters, pictures, diaries, costumes, furniture, and the like is recommended in this connection; and one of the objectives set up for papers on local history topics is "the correlation of concrete incident or movement in local history to sectional or national history." In the topical analysis of the syllabus, although some attention is given to Minnesota happenings which are connected with the national events under consideration, many opportunities for effective coördination of the two fields are missed.

"How would you like to shake hands with your ancestors?" asks the *Michigan History Magazine* in its July number. It depends upon how far back one goes. Statisticians tell us that

in the second generation back there were four, in the twelfth generation there were 4,096, and in the twenty-seventh, 134,217,728.

Among Mr. Charles F. Collisson's recent articles on agriculture and dairying, published in the *Minneapolis Tribune,* are several dealing with the methods employed in these pursuits by the Indians of the Northwest. The school at Pipestone, where dairying and animal husbandry are taught to Indian "boys and girls of nine different tribes," is the subject of the article for April 20; agricultural development on the Fort Berthold, North Dakota, reservation is described in the articles for June 22 and July 6; and an account of some primitive customs connected with the raising of corn is presented on July 20.

A defense of the traditional view of George Rogers Clark and his contribution to the winning of the West is made in an article on "The National Significance of George Rogers Clark," by Temple Bodley, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September. Mr. Bodley's vigorously stated conclusions differ considerably from the views of Dr. Alvord and several other students of western history. A very interesting paper on "Points of Contact Between History and Literature in the Mississippi Valley," by Dorothy Dondore, appears in the same number.

A brief article entitled "North West and Hudson's Bay Companies: The Predominating Influence of the North West Merchants of Montreal in the Plan of Amalgamation with the Hudson Bay Company in 1821," by Aaron Newell, is printed in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for July.

The "First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," given at Madeline Island in August, consisted of eighteen episodes and required three afternoons to present. The entire pageant was given seven times. Jean Baptiste Cadotte, Michel Cadotte, Father Claude Allouez, and Daniel Greysolon Du Luth are among the characters who, by the legerdemain of the pageant master, set chronology at defiance and enter into the plot. An interesting sketch of Madeline Island, famed for its Indian, fur-trade, and missionary backgrounds, is presented in an article entitled

"Madeline and the Past," by Helen Patten, published in the *Wisconsin Magazine* for August-September.

General headquarters for the Norwegian-American centennial celebration which is to be held at the Minnesota state fair grounds in St. Paul in June, 1925, have been established at the Nicollet Hotel in Minneapolis, according to an announcement in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for September 11. The celebration will commemorate the first group immigration from Norway to the United States.

A monument in honor of Knute Nelson has been erected in Evanger, Norway, his birthplace, by the people of that community. A speech delivered by the American minister to Norway, Mr. Laurits Swenson, on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument is printed in volume 7, number 6, of *Nordmandsforbundet.*

A considerable amount of useful biographical information relating to immigrants from the Norwegian district of Numedal appears in the *Year Book* of Numedalslaget for 1923.

The Wisconsin manifestations of nativism in the forties and fifties are dealt with in an article on "Know-Nothingism in Wisconsin," by Joseph Schafer, which is published in the September *Wisconsin Magazine of History.* In the same magazine a brief account of "The Venerable La Pointe Region," by W. A. Titus, appears. Two items of interest for the history of the Scandinavian element are included: an article on "The Swedish Settlement on Pine Lake," by Mabel V. Hansen; and an account of the Norwegian settlements in the West in 1847, by Consul General Adam Lövenskjold, who visited the settlements in the summer of that year and drew up a report to the Norwegian government which was published at Bergen in 1848. The translation is by Dr. Knut Gjerset.

A review of the early history of North Dakota is presented in an article entitled "The Colonial Period of North Dakota History," by Orin G. Libby, which appears in the *Quarterly Journal* of the University of North Dakota for June. Dr. Libby states that the building of a railroad to Moorhead in 1871 and

the beginning of land surveys west of the Red River in 1868 mark the end of the colonial era in the history of North Dakota. There are many references in the article to historical events of Minnesota interest. One slight error may be noted. Mention is made of the expedition "in charge of Major Long, 1819–23, the first official expedition to the Red River valley." The Long expedition to that valley occurred in 1823; six years earlier, in 1817, Long made a journey from St. Louis to the Falls of St. Anthony.

An "archaeological and historical survey" of Washington County, Indiana, the results of which have been published in the *Indiana History Bulletin* for August (extra number), illustrates a type of inquiry which might be made effectively in several Minnesota counties under the direction of local historical societies. The survey includes township reports "on mounds, caves and quarries, archaeological collections and specimens, cemeteries, forts and blockhouses, and village sites." In each township data were assembled on first settlements, early churches, underground railroad stations, historic trees, early schools, mill sites, trade routes, historic buildings, old trails, markers, camp sites, birthplaces of noted people, and so forth. A general survey of *Historical Markers in Indiana,* arranged by counties, has been published by the Indiana Historical Commission in its *Bulletin* for April, 1924.

A valuable collection of *War Documents and Addresses,* edited by Marguerite E. Jenison, has been published by the Illinois State Historical Library as volume 6 in its series on *Illinois in the World War* (Springfield, 1923. 522 p.). The selections are grouped under the main divisions of "Public Opinion and War," "Mobilizing the State's Resources for the War," "Mobilizing Illinois Men for Service," "Preserving Law and Order in the State," "Visits of Foreign Missions," "The Illinois Centennial," "Bringing War Activities to a Close," "Post-War Legislation," and "Return of the Illinois Service Men." In presenting this collection of materials to the public the general editor, Dr. Theodore C. Pease, remarks, "Definitive historical writing on all save the purely military phases of the war will

have to be left to a generation that has not known the psychological excitement of the years 1914–1920." In the meantime the gathering up of source materials by contemporaries serves to pave the way for the future historian.

A picture of a British Columbia log house with a log-trough roof appears in the *Beaver* for December.

General Minnesota Items

A mass of information on the departments, commissions, boards, and bureaus of the Minnesota state government, including some historical data, is embodied in a publication entitled *Administration of the State of Minnesota* (71 p.), prepared under the general direction of Dr. Morris B. Lambie of the University of Minnesota and issued in June by the League of Minnesota Municipalities.

"At Fort Snelling, Minnesota," "Pioneer Transportation in Minnesota," and "The Romance of the Cuyuna Iron Range in Minnesota" are the titles of three Minnesota history stories which are included in a collection of sketches for boys and girls entitled *Where Our History Was Made,* by John T. Faris (New York, 1924. 358 p.). In the second sketch an interesting account is given of the early transportation between Fort Garry and St. Paul.

"How Big is Minnesota?" is the question asked in the heading of an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for September 29, which calls attention to the fact that from the Pigeon River to the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods the international boundary has not yet been fully and precisely determined.

Miss Ruth B. Teare's "Legends and Stories from the St. Croix River" continue to appear in the issues of the *Washington County Post* of Stillwater up to September 18 (see *ante,* p. 525). In the issues for July 3 and 10 the author describes the "Old Mill Stream" and the mill at Marine, which she erroneously calls the "first mill to manufacture lumber in the State of Minnesota." In these articles a survey of the growth and decline of the lumber industry at Marine is presented. The subject for

the articles in the *Post* from July 17 to September 18 is an "Autobiography of the Old Man of the Dalles" at Taylor's Falls.

In a series of four articles in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for July 13, 20, 27, and August 3, former Congressman Frank M. Eddy reviews the campaigns which preceded his election to Congress from the Seventh Congressional District in 1894 and 1896. From the point of view of a Republican candidate, he describes the sharp political contests with the Populists and the free silver advocates, and he covers in greater detail certain phases of the subject dealt with by Dr. Hicks in his article on the Farmers' Alliance in the present number of the BULLETIN. Mr. Eddy's spirited account of a huge Republican rally at Brown's Valley during the campaign of 1896, published on July 27, is reprinted in the *Inter-Lake Tribune* of Brown's Valley for July 31.

"Pioneer Days in Minnesota (1851–1857)" is the title of one chapter of a volume on *The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondelet: A Brief Account of Its Origin and Its Work in the United States (1650–1922)*, by Sister Mary L. Savage (St. Louis, 1923. xviii, 334 p.). The most interesting portion of the chapter is that which tells of four sisters of St. Joseph who, in response to a call from Bishop Cretin, came to St. Paul in the fall of 1851 to open a school. As a dwelling the sisters were given the house which was originally "the episcopal palace" of Bishop Cretin — "a low frame shanty on the bluff overlooking the Mississippi." It was "about eighteen feet square, a story and a half high, containing two small rooms, one on the ground floor and one above." A passage from the diary of Sister Francis Joseph, telling of the situation during the first winter, is of special interest, as the following extract will indicate: "We all enjoyed the novelty of our position. There was a small stove on the first floor, the pipe of which was set upright through the roof. In the opening around it, we could count the stars. Rain storms were frequent. When the rain poured down through the roof, we, like the man in the Gospel, took up our beds and walked, but only to rest in water on the other floor." In a

later chapter Dr. Savage traces the development of the "Congregation in the North," — chiefly in Minnesota — from 1858 to 1922, a record of constantly widening activities.

A brief essay on "Minnesota Labor and Legislation" appears in the 1922 *Year Book* of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor as chapter 10 in its "History of the Labor Movement in Minnesota." In the *Year Book* for 1924 a chapter on "Minnesota Labor in Politics," dealing with the period since 1918, is added.

The dramatic story of the great Indian uprising in 1862 possesses a permanent hold upon the interest of Minnesota Valley people. At the annual Fort Ridgely celebration, which was held on August 22, speeches were given on "The Nine Day Siege of Fort Ridgely," by Frank Hopkins; "The Siege of New Ulm," by Albert Pfaender; "Prisoners at Camp Release," by C. A. Fossness; and "Wood Lake Battle and Upper Sioux Agency," by John J. Mooney. Mr. J. F. Jacobson spoke on "The Old Lac qui Parle Mission" and Mr. H. M. Hitchcock described the natural features of the Minnesota River Valley. According to press reports the celebration was well attended, and the presence of Miss Rebecca Blue Cloud, a granddaughter of Chief Little Crow, added to the interest of the occasion.

James M. Goodhue, the founder of the first Minnesota newspaper, Aaron Goodrich, a pioneer judge, and Charles Kilgore Smith, the first secretary of Minnesota Territory and one of the founders of the Minnesota Historical Society, were among the twelve original Minnesota Masons, according to the brief histories of the order in Minnesota published in the *St. Paul Daily News* and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 7. The articles call attention to the seventy-fifth anniversary of the introduction of the Masonic Order into Minnesota, which was celebrated on September 8 by St. Paul Lodge No. 3, the oldest lodge in the state.

Notorious crimes committed in the Northwest during the past half century are recalled in a series of articles which begin in the *St. Paul Daily News* for July 20. The stories are based upon

the scrapbooks of the late John J. O'Connor, who for many years was St. Paul's chief of police.

The story of the capture of the Younger brothers after the Northfield robbery of 1876 is told by one of the captors, Dr. A. O. Sorbel, in the *Daily Argus-Leader* of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, for September 20.

The proceedings of a *Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Thomas B. Walker* on January 7, 1924, at the Minneapolis Club, have been published as a booklet of forty-seven pages. Much of Mr. Walker's speech on this occasion was devoted to an account of his first visit to Minneapolis, which occurred in 1862.

A somewhat ironic biographical sketch of James J. Hill appears in one chapter of *Strenuous Americans* by R. F. Dibble (New York, 1923. 370 p.). Seven sketches are included in the volume, but the most typical "strenuous American" is left out. Had he been included it is easy to believe that Theodore Roosevelt would have turned over in his grave, for the seven "strenuous Americans" are a strangely assorted crew: Jesse James, Brigham Young, P. T. Barnum, Mark Hanna, Frances E. Willard, Admiral George Dewey, and James J. Hill.

A *Memorial of Joseph Davis Ensign* (1924. 19 p.), a prominent lawyer of Duluth and a district court judge from 1889 to 1920, has been issued by the bar association of the eleventh judicial district. It includes addresses by John G. Williams, William A. Cant, J. L. Washburn, Henry Oldenburg, and Martin Hughes.

Local History Items

The history of South Bend, "which in the late fifties was a rival of Mankato," and of its "only remaining building," the Welsh Congregational Church, is reviewed in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for September 26. The article contains the announcement that the old church is to be restored by former members of its congregation.

A sketch of the history of three neighboring Minnesota towns — Lindstrom, Chisago City, and Center City — is printed in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 3.

Evidence that Minnesota is still a field for the pioneer farmer is given in the story, published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 24, of the origin and growth within the past five years of the town of Hollandale, a prosperous community of Dutch truck farmers in Freeborn County.

To mark the passing of thirty years since the publication of its first issue, the *Grand Rapids Herald-Review* for September 24 includes a sketch of its history by Edward C. Kiley, its founder. Interesting bits of Itasca County history may be gleaned from the narrative; for example, a list of the paper's early advertisers is fairly representative of the pioneer business enterprises of the region. Other articles of historical interest in this issue are an account of the development of dairying in Itasca County and a story of the building of the county's roads.

Another chapter has been added to the newspaper history of the state in the fiftieth anniversary number of the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* — an issue which, according to its editor, is "frankly reminiscent." The greater part of its four sections is devoted to accounts of the business concerns of Fairmont, but fortunately space is given to some valuable articles on the history of the county and the city. The establishment of the *Sentinel* is described by Mr. Frank A. Day, its founder and editor, and the history of three earlier Martin County papers is the subject of a long article. Accounts of "66 Years of Fairmont Postoffice History," of the development of transportation in Martin County, of the fur trade in pioneer days, and of the grasshopper plague of 1873–76 also are included. But perhaps the most interesting articles in this issue deal with the "British colony" centering at Fairmont which was established in the seventies through the efforts of a promoter named H. G. Shearman. This little-known immigration project brought approximately two hundred English settlers to Martin County. Many were disappointed and returned to England; others still reside in Fairmont. One of the latter, Mr. Lenny Burton, contributes to the *Sentinel* an account of his "arrival in 1874." Among the interesting illustrations in this issue are a bird's-eye view of Fairmont in 1879, a picture of its first house, and a map of Martin County published in 1874.

A home-coming celebration in honor of the "50th anniversary of the first actual settlement in Pipestone county" was held on July 26 at Pipestone.

The tragedy of once thriving towns that, for one reason or another, were left to die lingering deaths has an appeal not only to poets but to the general public. The story of a Minnesota "deserted village," High Forest in Olmsted County, which was jilted by a railroad, is told in an entertaining illustrated article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 3.

The reunion of the Renville County Pioneers' Association, held at Olivia on June 11, 12, and 13, was the occasion for the publication of an illustrated "Old Settlers Edition" of the *Olivia Times* on June 12. Stories of the Sioux Massacre in Renville County, sketches of old settlers, and accounts of "early day politics" and of "Renville County's oldest newspaper," the *Times,* are included.

Pioneers of Rock County gathered at Hills on July 4 for an old settlers' picnic. A paper on the "Early History of Rock County," read at the meeting by Mr. J. N. Jacobson, is published in the *Hills Crescent* of July 10.

Members of the St. Croix Valley Old Settlers' Association gathered at Stillwater on September 17 for their fiftieth annual meeting.

An account of the "Early History of Madelia," by J. E. Haycraft, is published in the *Madelia Times-Messenger* for June 27.

The gay and romantic days when Lake Minnetonka was thronged with steamboats are recalled in an illustrated article by Randolph Edgar, published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 20, which is based upon an interview with Captain George Hopkins, a veteran Minnetonka boatman. Mr. Edgar succeeds in giving a vivid impression of the charm and color of Minnetonka affairs when the lake was "the almost sole summer resort of the northwest."

The tale of St. Albans, a village which was platted in 1856 on Lake Minnetonka and which failed to weather the financial

storm of 1857, is recounted in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of September 19.

Residents of Osseo celebrated at Eagle Lake on July 15 the seventy-second anniversary of the founding of their village.

The founding of Robbinsdale by Andrew B. Robbins in the late eighties and its subsequent growth are described in the *Northern Headlight* of Robbinsdale for September 17. Accounts of the industries, the schools, the churches, and the transportation facilities of the village are included.

"In Memory of Helen J. McCaine, Librarian, Who for Forty Years Devoted her Life to the Development of This Library" reads the inscription on a tablet recently placed in the St. Paul Public Library in honor of its former librarian.

Illustrated feature articles in the *St. Paul Daily News* and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of September 28 review the history of the First Baptist Church of St. Paul and announce the program for the celebration, on October 5 to 9, of its seventy-fifth anniversary. As a result of the efforts of Harriet E. Bishop the church was established by twelve pioneer Baptists on December 29, 1849. Portraits of Miss Bishop and pictures of the crude log cabin in which she taught the first Minnesota Sunday school appear with both articles.

A weekly series of informing articles entitled "The Story of Dayton's Bluff," by J. H. Colwell, appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune,* beginning with the issue of September 7. The articles deal with the history of Dayton's Bluff from the days of the mound builders to the rediscovery of Carver's Cave.

Stories of strange freaks resulting from "St. Paul's only tornado," which occurred on August 20, 1904, are recalled in an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 17. Storms which have played havoc in various parts of Minnesota are enumerated by Don T. Stetson in the *St. Paul Daily News* for July 6.

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TO THE

MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

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ERRATA

Page 55, line 13, for *Arthur H. Schlesinger,* read *Arthur M. Schlesinger.*
—— 57, line 14, for *Herbert W. Parkinson,* read *Herbert W. Richardson.*
—— 64, line 9, for *Thomas E. Hughes,* read *Twiford E. Hughes.*
—— 64, lines 12 and 13, read *the Minnesota state fair grounds, when the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of Fort Snelling was celebrated.*
—— 73, line 25, for *St. Anthony,* read *St. Anthony and Minneapolis.*
—— 78, line 5, for *Charles F. Collison,* read *Charles F. Collisson.*
—— 79, line 8, for *Peter Schaeffer,* read *Peter Schaefer.*
—— 160, line 32, for *Mrs. Frank H. Jarrard,* read *Mrs. Frank H. Jerrard.*
—— 205, line 4, for *1889,* read *1879.*
—— 238, line 20, for *August L. Lindvall,* read *August J. Lindvall.*
—— 267, lines 9 and 10, for *Le Sueur Center,* read *Le Sueur.*
—— 272, line 7, for *Bannock City and Virginia,* read *Bannack and Virginia City.*
—— 273, line 21, for *May 17, 1858,* read *May 17, 1859.*
—— 273, line 24, for *1859 and 1860,* read *1860.*
—— 306, line 1, for *from July 16 to July 28, 1784,* read *from November 15, 1800, to June 4, 1801.*
—— 343, line 11, for *Senator Foracker,* read *Senator Foraker.*
—— 383, line 20, for *Dr. Knut Gjerseth,* read *Dr. Knut Gjerset.*
—— 393, line 22, for *St. Louis Historical Society,* read *St. Louis County Historical Society.*
—— 449, lines 11 and 12, for *Thomas F. Galbraith,* read *Thomas J. Galbraith.*
—— 518, line 20, for *A. H. Kohlmier,* read *A. L. Kohlmeier.*